Hodgson

# ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

# LITERATURE AND RELIGION

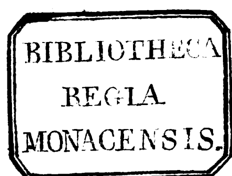
OF THE

# BUDDHISTS.

By B. H. HODGSON, Esq. B. C. S.

SERAMPORE.

1841.



# PREFACE.

The whole of the following Papers are reprints: the dates of which may be proved by consulting the originals in the Transactions and Journal of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and London. But it may be worth while to observe that the first Paper was written in 1825, though printed only in 1828, after the tardy usage of those days in such matters. So soon as this paper reached me in print, I corrected it as it now stands.

The rest of the papers retain their original published forms, but in regard to the third I have preferred the later Edition of the Bengal Journal to the earlier, but less full one, of the London Journal. Some of my friends, who seem to have a horror at generalizations, slily fling their squibs at what they call my speculative propensity.

Yet I trust there is no great harm done in attempting to link tedious details into their appropriate concatenation; and I suspect that sundry disjecta membra of this great subject have been, in sundry hands, only made to wear an intelligible aspect by the light of the general views occasionally opened in these papers. If the topic be, in parts, deep and abstract, I cannot help that; but, for *facts* to support my views, there is surely no lack of *them*:* and I will merely point to the classified catalogue of the principal objects of Buddhist worship, as a mass of facts painfully elaborated and set in order for the benefit of those who are working and may work at the great and new mine of Bauddha literature which it has been my good fortune to open. I presume not to say that when this mine shall have been indeed explored, all my general views will be found valid. But many, I trust, will; and, in the mean while, all enquiries conducted into this

* See the whole of paper III. and the large appendices to many of the other papers!

new subject with the *sole aid of books*, may be facilitated, and curiosity may be both stimulated and directed by them: as, indeed, *has been* actually the case in various places where, I am sorry to add, there has been a rather uncandid obliviousness of the source of the obligation. I refer the curious in dates, to mine and other peoples', anent the premises, merely observing that the 'Quotations in Proof,' which form the basis and evidence of my opinions, were extracted from their several original authorities between 1822 and 1824, though not published in *that form* till several years after, for reasons assigned elsewhere.

A word to the general reader. Don't be alarmed by the antiquarian cast of this subject, and be assured that the doctrines and practises of that religion which, for number of followers, leaves behind it every other on the face of the earth, are well worthy the attention of all men of sense and information.

With respect to India, though Buddhism has disappeared totally from the Continent for some ages, there can be no doubt that in this, its parent country, it long divided the empire of opinion nearly equally with Brahmanism. Nor, if we consider that Buddhism proclaimed the equality of all men and women in the sight of God, that it denounced the impious pretentions of the most mischievous priesthood the world ever saw, and that it inculcated a pure system of practical morality, can we refuse to allow that the innovation was as advantageous as it was extensively spread and adopted. And how was this, the first and last, great moral impression upon Hindooism accomplished? Beyond a question by turning the enemy's battery of Sanscrit lore upon themselves, and by *vernacular appeals* to the *common sense* and *common interest* of the *many*.

Those who are now engaged in establishing a sound system of Education in India, based upon European knowledge, and who cannot or will not appreciate the value—the supreme value and efficacy—of vernacular instrumentality in setting a new bias on the popular mind, would do well to ponder attentively the History of Buddhist success. And, if they would attempt to neutralize the argument by pointing to the ultimate failure of these reformers,

I answer that that were mere sophistry; for the failure resulted from obvious defects of Buddhism, such as its cold sceptical philosophy and its mischievous monachism. Let us *undo* existing errors to a hundredth part of the extent achieved by Buddhism, and our task is accomplished; because *we* have that wherewith to fill the room of those errors which neither time nor tide could shake.

B. H. H.

*Nepaul, January,* 1841.

# CONTENTS.

## No. I.

### NOTICES OF THE LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION OF NEPAUL AND OF TIBET.

(Printed from the 16th volume of the Asiatic Transactions of Bengal, A. D. 1828.)

THE various contributions which I have had the honour to forward to the Library and Museum of the Asiatic Society, and the lists by which they have been accompanied, will have put the Society in possession of such information as I have been able to collect respecting the articles presented. Some connected observations suggested by the principal of them, may, however, be not unacceptable, as derived from enquiry on the spot, and communication with learned Nepaulese, as well as from reference to their written authorities.* I do not pretend to offer a complete detailed view of the Literature or Religion of the Nepaulese. But a few general remarks may be attempted at present, and may prepare the way for further investigation.

### *Languages of Nepaul.*

Within the limits of the modern kingdom of Nepaul, there are ten distinct and strongly marked dialects spoken. These are the Khas or Parbattia, the Magar, the Gurung, the Kachâri, the Haiyu,† the Murmi, the Newari, the Kiranti, the Limbuan, and

* See Paper III. or quotations in proof. Extracted from the works quoted between the years 1822 and 1824. Note of 1837.

† Subsequent enquiries have satisfied me that the Haiyus have no connexion with the other races speaking the several dialects named.

Judging by physiognomy, colour, manners, and customs *and* language, I conclude that the Haiyus are of the Cole race of South Behar. In Nepaul, they form a very small clan, living in a half savage state in the wilds above Sindhuli.

the Lapchan. With the exception of the first (which will be presently reverted to) these several tongues are all of Trans-himalayan stock, and are closely affiliated. They are all extremely rude, owing to the people who speak them having crossed the snows before learning had dawned upon Tibet, and to the physical features of their new home (huge mountain barriers on every hand) having tended to break up and enfeeble the common speech they brought with them.

At present the several tribes or clans to which these dialects are appropriated, can hardly speak intelligibly to each other, and not one of the dialects, save the Newari or language of Nepaul Proper,* can boast a single book or even a system of letters, original or borrowed. The Newari has, indeed, three systems of letters, of which more will be said in the sequel; and it has also a small stock of books in the shape of translations and comments from and upon the sacred and exotic literature of the Newars. But the Newari tongue has no dictionary or grammar; nor is its cultivation ever thought of by those, numerous as they are, who devote their lives to the sacred literature of Buddhism. It may be remarked, by the way, that the general and enduring effects of this addiction to an exotic medium, in preference to the vernacular, have been, to cut off the bridge leading from speculation to practice, to divorce learning from utility, and to throw a veil of craft-

* Nepaul Proper is the great valley and its vicinity, as opposed to the kingdom of Nepaul. The extreme area of the great valley may be about 400 square miles, and its population fully 250,000. Of several proximate and subsidiary vales tenanted by the same race, (Newar), the area may be about as much more, but the population not above 150,000. The Newar tribe, by far the most numerous tribe in the kingdom, comprises nearly a fourth of the entire population of the kingdom. The great valley is probably the most densely peopled district in the world. It contains 250 towns and villages: the soil yields two crops a year besides greens; every yard of the surface is cultivated (the roads being mere foot paths) and the whole of the food raised is for human consumption. Besides which, large supplies of food are poured into the valley from all the neighbouring hilly districts. The subsidiary vales above spoken of, as comprised in Nepaul Proper or the region of the Newars, extend in a broken zigzag, east and west, from Dolkha to Nayakot. Besides the 250,000 Newars of the great valley, there are 20,000 intruders composing the army, Civil List and Priesthood of the new dynasty which conquered the valley 69 years back under Prithivi Narayan, the fifth in ascent from the present Sovereign.

ful mystery over the originally popular and generous practical Institutes of the religion this people profess.

Before proceeding to a brief comparison of Newari and of the language of Tibet, with a view to indicate the northern stock of the former tongue, it will be better to notice the Khas or Parbattia Bhasha, since the subject may be dismissed in a few words and will not need revertence to.

The only language of southern origin spoken in these Hills is the Khas or Parbattia—an Indian Pracrit, brought into them by colonies from below (13th to 15th Century of Christ) and now so generally diffused that, in the provinces west of the Kali river,* it has nearly eradicated the vernacular tongues, and, though less prevalent in the provinces east of that river, it has, even in them, as far as the Trisul Gunga, divided the empire of speech almost equally with the local mother tongues. The Parbattia language is terse, simple, sufficiently copious in words, and very characteristic of the unlettered but energetic race of soldiers and statesmen who made it what it is. At present it is almost wholly in its structure, and in eight-tenths of its vocables, substantially Hindee. Yet several of its radical words still indicate an ancient barbarous stock. And I have no doubt that the people who more especially speak it (the Khas) were originally what Menu calls them, viz. barbarous† mountaineers of a race essentially the same with the several other races of Nepaulese Highlanders. Few persons except Brahmans are regularly taught the Parbattia language; but most gentlemen speak, and may read and write, it with ease and correctness; the Court, where all so often assemble, being the nucleus of unity and refinement. This language, however, has no literature properly so called, and very few and trivial books. It is always written in the Deva Nagree characters, and, as a language of business, is extremely concise and clear.

* The Kali, Ghagra or Sarju, is now the limit of Nepaul to the westward, so that the provinces beyond that river can only be adverted to in relation to the kingdom of Nepaul, such as it *was* prior to 1814.

† This word in the mouth of a Hindoo of Madhya Des has the same sense which it had in the mouth of a Greek, that is, stranger to the race of the user of it.

The Gorkhas speak the Parbattia Bhasha, and to their ascendency is its prevalence, in later times, to be mainly ascribed.

Considering that Nepaul Proper or the country of Newars, has long been the metropolis of Gorkha power, it is rather remarkable that the fashionable and facile Parbattia has not made any material impression on the Newari language. The causes of this (not wholly referable to modern times) are probably, that the fertility and facility of communication characterising the level country of the Newars, soon gave consistency and body to their speech, whilst their religion (Buddhism) made them look with jealousy, as well on the more ancient Hindoo emigrants, as on the more modern Hindoo conquerors. In the mountainous districts, strictly so called, the case was different; and, besides, from whatever reason, the tide of emigration into these regions from the south set chiefly on the provinces west of the Trisul Gunga.* There too, to this day, Brahmanical Hindooism principally flourishes, its great supporters being the Khas, and, next to them, the Magars and Gurungs. For the rest, the population of the kingdom of Nepaul is principally Bauddha; preferring for the most part the Tibetan model of that faith: the Newars are the chief exception. Between the Buddhism of Tibet and that of Nepaul Proper, (or of the Newars) the differences are;

1st. That the former still adheres to, whilst the latter has rejected, the old monastic institutes of Buddhism; 2d. that the former is still, as of old, wholly unperplexed with caste; the latter, a good deal hampered by it; and that, lastly, the Tibetan Buddhism has no concealments, whilst the Nepaulese is sadly vexed

* These Southern emigrants were refugees from Moslem bigotry: and were so numerous as to be able to give the impress of their own speech and religion to the rude and scattered Highlanders. The prior establishment of Buddhism in Nepaul Proper prevented these Brahmanical Southerns from penetrating there, where, however, ages before, some Southerns had found a refuge; these latter were Buddhists, fleeing from *Brahmanical* bigotry. They came to Nepaul Proper about two centuries after Christ. Buddhism had previously been established therein, and these emigrants were too few to make a sensible impression on the speech or physiognomy of the prior settlers, already a dense and cultivated population.

with a proneness to withhold many higher matters of the law from all but chosen vessels.

*Connexion of the Language of Nepaul Proper with that of Tibet.*

I proceed now to indicate that affinity of the language of the Newars to the language of the Tibetans which I have already adverted to. I had extended this vocabulary (in an amplified form) to the whole of the languages above-mentioned: but the results were, for several reasons, liable to question in detail, so that I prefer holding them back for the present, though there can be no doubt of the general facts, that these dialects are of northern origin, and are closely connected.

The language of Nepaul Proper or the Newari, has, as already intimated, much in common with that of Bhot or Tibet. It is however a poorer dialect than that of Lassa and Digarchi; and it has, consequently, been obliged to borrow more extensive aid from Sungskrit, whilst the early adoption of Sungskrit as the sole language of literature has facilitated this infusion. The following is a comparison of a few terms:—

| *English.* | *Newari.* | *Bhotiya.* |
|---|---|---|
| The World. | * (S.) Sansar. | Jambu Ling. |
| God. | (S.) Bhagawan. | Lhá. |
| Man. | (S.) Manno, or Majan. | Khiyoga. |
| Woman. | Misá. | Pemi. |
| Quadruped. | (S.) Pasu, Pepanchu. | Tendú. |
| Bird. | Jhongo. | Djia and Chabi. |
| Insect. | (S.) Kicha. | Bú. |
| A Worm. | Dalambi. | Dalabú. |
| Fire. | Mih. | Mha and Mih. |
| Air. | (S.) Phoy. | Lha-phú and Lhawa. |
| Earth. | Chá. | Sha. |
| Water. | P. Lo. C. Luk. B. Gná. | Chú. |
| The Sun. | (S.) Suraj. | Nima. |
| The Moon. | (S.) Chandrama. | Dawa. |
| The Stars. | (S.) Nagú. | Kerma. |

* The (S.) indicates a Sungskrit origin.

| *English.* | | *Newari.* | *Bhotiya.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A Mountain. | (S.) | Parba. | Rajhi and Lumba. |
| A River. | | Khussi. | Changbo. |
| Father. | | Boba and Opju. | Ava and Aba. |
| Mother. | | Má. | Amma. |
| Grandfather. | | Adjhu. | Adjhu. |
| Grandmother. | | Adjhama. | Adzhi. |
| A Child. | | Mocha. | Namú? Piza. |
| A Boy. | | Kay Mocha and Bhajú. | Phú. |
| A Girl. | | Miah Mochu and Mejú. | Pamú. |
| Uncle. | | Kakka. | Aghu. |
| Aunt. | | Mamma. | Ibi, Asa. |
| Summer. | (S.) | Tápullá. | Chapaha. |
| Winter. | | Chilla. | Gun? Khyabu. |
| Grain. | (S.) | Ann. | Soh? Du. |
| Rice. | | Jaki, Wá. | Brá. |
| Wheat. | | Cho. | Tho. |
| Barley. | | Tacho. | ——— |
| Marriage. | (S.) | Biah. | Páma. |
| Birth. | | Macha-Bullo. | Kesin. |
| Death. | | Sito. | Lhesin. |
| A House. | | Chén. | Khim. |
| A Stone. | | Lohu. | Ghara? To. |
| A Brick. | | Appa. | Arpa. |
| Temple. | (S.) | Dewa. | Lha-Kang. |
| An Image. | | Kata Malli, Patima. | Toto, Thu. |
| A Bridge. | | Ta and Taphu. | Sambá. |
| A Tree. | | Sima. | Ston-bba or Tongbá. |
| A Leaf. | | Sihau and Hau. | Loma or Lapti. |
| A Flower. | | Swang. | Meto, or Mendo. |
| A Fruit. | | Si. | Brebú. |
| A Horse. | | Sallo. | Tapu or Tábá. |
| A Bull. | | Doho. | Sandhí. |
| A Cow. | | Mása and Sá. | Pago. |
| A Buffaloe. | | Mia. | Mye. |
| A Dog. | | Khicha. | Khigo or Khibo. |

| *English.* | *Newari.* | *Bhotiya.* |
|---|---|---|
| A Cat. | Bhow. | Guré. |
| A Jackal. | Dhong. | Kipchang. |
| A Sister. | Kihin. | Chamu ? Numu. |
| A Brother. | Kinja. | Chou ? Gnú. |
| Own Family. | Thajho & Tha Mannu. | Pin. |
| Kinsfolk. | Phuki. | Phebin. |
| Strangefolk. | Kato and Miah-Ping. | Chomi. |
| The Head. | Chong. | Wu or Go. |
| The Hair. | Song. | Tar, or Ta. |
| The Face. | Qua. | Tongba. |
| The Eye. | Mikha. | Mhi. |
| The Nose. | Gniá. | Gná |
| The Mouth. | Mhutu. | Kha. |
| The Chin. | Maňo. | Koma. |
| The Ear. | Nhiapo. | Nhamjo. |
| The Forehead. | Kopa. | Prála. |
| The Body. | Mho. | Zhúbú. |
| The Arm. | Laha, Lappa.* | Lakpa. |
| The Leg. | Túti. | Kangba. |
| Right. | Jou. | Yeba. |
| Left. | Khou. | Yémá. |
| A Month. | Lá. | Lá-wa. |
| A Year. | Dat'chí. | Lochik. |
| Day. | Gni or Nhi. | Nain. |
| Night. | Chá. | Chan. |

With regard to the Newari words, I can venture to say they may be relied on, though they differ somewhat from Kirkpatrick's, whose vocabulary, made in a hurry, exhibits some errors, especially that of giving Sungskrit words instead of the vernacular. It is remarkable that the Newars, (those that pretend to education, and those who are wholly illiterate), are apt to give to a stranger, a Sungskrit, instead of their own Newari, name for any object to which their attention is called for the purpose of naming it.

* Lappa, (almost identical with the Bhotiya Lakpa) means the true arm, or upper half of the limb. Laha means the whole.

This habit owes its origin to the wish to be intelligible, which the Newars know they cannot be in speaking their own tongue.* The real poverty of the Newari is, also, no doubt, another cause, and its want of words expressive of general ideas: thus, Creation, God, have no Newari names, and the Sungskrit ones have therefore been borrowed of necessity: the like is true of the word Mankind, for which, as wéll as for the two former words, I have not been able, after great pains, to obtain any vernaculars. When a Newar would express the idea of God, without resorting to Sungskrit, he is driven to periphrasis, and says Adjhi Deo, which word is compounded of Adjhu, a Grandfather, and Deo; and thus, by reverence for ancestors, he comes to reverence his maker, whom he calls, literally, the father of his father, or the first father. I am quite aware the foregone and following meagre examples of Newari will not go far to establish the affinity of this language. The subject must be reserved for the future; but, in the mean time, I may observe that the northern stock,† and intimate affinity of Newari and of the other dialects before enumerated, (excepting the Khas or Parbattia), are written as palpably upon the face of these languages as upon the physiognomy, and form of the races who speak them.

As for the Bhotiya words, I cannot wholly vouch for them, few as they are, having obtained them from a Lama, who was but little acquainted with Newari or Parbattia. The majority are, I believe, sufficiently accordant with the Lhassa model, but some may be dialectically corrupted. Still, however, they will equally serve, (as far as they go), to illustrate my assertion that the root and stock of Newari are Trans-himalayan and northern; for there are many dialects on *both* sides of the snows, and some of the in-

* Our Hindoo servants of the North West Provinces learn to speak the Parbattia language in a year by merely casual use of it. But they never acquire the least use of Newari though they remain here for ten years, in constant commerce with Newars. This is a simple but satisfactory proof of what is alleged in the text as to the essential character of both languages.

Our people could as soon learn Chinese as Newari: but Parbattia 'comes natural to them.'

† Let any one try to refer the Newari words above given, few as they are, to any dialect spoken in the plains of India; and he will be satisfied that he has got into a new lingual region, disconnected with the South.

ferior Tibetan dialects may, very probably, come nearer to Newari than the best or that of Lhassa.

The twelfth word in the Newari column, or Water, is given according to the sub-dialects of the Valley. Water is Lo, at Patan, Lúk at Katmandu, and Gnā, at Bhatgong; these places being the capitals of as many kingdoms before the Gorkha conquest, though situated in very close vicinity to each other.

With respect to the numerals of the decimal scale, the resemblance is strikingly close.

*Numerals.*

| | *Bhotiya.* | *Newari.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chi. | Chi. |
| 2. | Gni. | Na Shi. |
| 3. | Súm. | Swong. |
| 4. | Zhi. | Pih. |
| 5. | Gnah. | Gniah. |
| 6. | Túkh. | Khu. |
| 7. | Tún. | Nha or Nhasso. |
| 8. | Ghiah. | Chiah. |
| 9. | Gun. | Gun. |
| 10. | Chu (Thampa, an expletive merely.) | Sánho. |
| 11. | Chú-chi. | Saran-chi. |
| 12. | Chú-gni. | Saran Nassi. |
| 13. | Chu (P.) súm, (the letter (P.) written but scarcely audibly uttered.) | |
| 14. | Chú (P.) Zhi. | Saran Pih. |
| 15. | Cheánga. | Saran Gniah. |
| 16. | Chúrú. | Saran Khu. |
| 17. | Chuptin. | Saran Nha. |
| 18. | Chopkia. | Saran Chiah. |
| 19. | Chúrko. | Saran Gun. |
| 20. | Né shu (thampa.) | Saran Sanho. |
| 21. | „ „ | Ni Chi. |

| | *Bhotiya.* | *Newari.* |
|---|---|---|
| 22. | Né shu (thampa.) | Ni Nassi. |
| 23. | „ „ | Ni Swong. |
| 24. | „ „ | Ni Pih. |
| 25. | „ „ | Ni Gniah. |
| 26. | „ „ | Ni Khú. |
| 27. | „ „ | Ni Nhi. |
| 28. | „ „ | Ni Chiah. |
| 29. | „ „ | Ni Gún. |
| 30. | Súm chú (thampa.) | Ni Sanho. |
| 31. | „ „ | Swi Chi. |
| 32. | „ „ | Swi Nassi. |
| 33. | „ „ | Swi Swong. |
| 34. | „ „ | Swi Pih. |
| 35. | „ „ | Swi Gniah. |
| 36. | „ „ | Swi Khú. |
| 37. | „ „ | Swi Nha. |
| 38. | „ „ | Swi Chiah. |
| 39. | „ „ | Swi Gún. |
| 40. | Zhe-chu (thampa.) | Swi Sánho. |
| 41. | „ „ | Pi Chi. |
| 42. | „ „ | Pi Nassi. |
| 43. | „ „ | Pi Swong. |
| 50. | Gna-chu (thampa.) | Gniayú or Pi-Sanho, or merely by pausing on the last letter of Gniah or 5: and thus also 60, 70, &c. are formed out of 6, 7, &c. |
| 60. | Tukh-chu (thampa.) | Qui. |
| 70. | Tun ditto. | Nhaiyu. |
| 80. | Gheah ditto. | Chaiye. |
| 90. | Gu (P.) ditto. | Guye. |
| 100. | Gheah (thampa.) | Saché. |
| 1000. | Tong-tha-che. | Do-ché. |
| 10,000. | Thea. | Zhí-dot. |
| 100,000 | Búm. | Lak-chi. |

Nor is the variation, after passing the ten, of any importance, the principle of both being still the same; that is, repetition and compounding of the ordinals; thus ten and one, ten and two, are the forms of expression in both, and so, twice, &c. The Bhotiya word thampa, postfixed to the decimally increasing series, is a mere expletive, and often omitted in speech. The Newari names of the figures from one to ten, as given by Kirkpatrick, are not correct, and hence the difference between the Newari and Bhotiya names has been made to appear greater than it is: in fact, it seems to me, that even the little difference that remains in the present specimens may be resolved into mere modes of utterance. Although the following offer no verbal resemblances, the principle on which they are formed presents several analogies.

Bhotiya and Newari names of the twelve months.

| | *Newari.* | | | *Bhotiya.* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| February. | ——— | | ——— | Dagava | or | Láwa (Tangbu.) |
| March. | Chongchola, | or | Chilla. | (Láwa) | ,, | Gnipa. |
| April. | Bachola, | ,, | Néla. | (Láwa) | ,, | Sumba. |
| May. | Túchola, | ,, | Swola. | (Láwa) | ,, | Zhiba. |
| June. | Dil'la, | ,, | Péla. | (Láwa) | ,, | Gnappa. |
| July. | Gung'la, | ,, | Gniāla. | (Láwa) | ,, | Tuakpu. |
| August. | Yung'la, | ,, | Khola. | (Láwa) | ,, | Tumba. |
| September. | Koula, | ,, | Nhúla. | (Láwa) | ,, | Gnappa. |
| October. | Kozla, | ,, | Chála. | (Láwa) | ,, | Guabba. |
| November. | Thingla, | ,, | Gungla. | (Láwa) | ,, | Chuba. |
| December. | Puéla, | ,, | Séla. | (Láwa) | ,, | Chu-chikpa. |
| January. | Sel'la, | ,, | Zhin'chala. | (Láwa) | ,, | Chu-gnipa. |
| February. | Chil'la, | ,, | Zhin'nala. | ——— | | ——— |

The second set of Newari names is formed merely by compounding the word La, a month, with the names of the cardinals, one, two, &c. As for the first set of names, there too we have the final La; and the prefixes are mere characteristic epithets of the seasons; thus, February is called Chilla; but Chilla means also the cold month, or winter.

The Bhotiyas, like the Newars, have no simple names for the months, but call them periphrastically the first, &c. month. Da-

wa and Lawa, both mean a month; but in speech this word is never prefixed, save in speaking of the first Bhotiya month or February, for from February their year begins. What Tángbu means, I know not, unless it be the same with Thampa, the word that always closes the series of numbers, 10, 20, 30, &c. The names of all the others are easily explained, they being compounds of the numbers 2, 3, &c. with the syllable pá or bá—evidently the Lá of the Newars—postfixed.

| *Newari names of the seven days of the week.* | | | | *Bhotiya names of the seven days.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sunday, | (S.) | Adhwina, | or | Chanhu, | Nima. |
| Monday, | (S.) | Swomwa, | ,, | Nenhu, | Dawa. |
| Tuesday, | (S.) | Ongwa, | ,, | Swonhu, | Mimer. |
| Wednesday, | (S.) | Budhwa, | ,, | Penhu, | Lhákpa. |
| Thursday, | (S.) | Bussowa, | ,, | Gnianhu, | Phōorboo. |
| Friday, | (S.) | Sukrawa, | ,, | Khonhu, | Pasang. |
| Saturday, | (S.) | Sonchowa, | ,, | Nhainhu, | Pemba. |

The first of the Newari series are wholly corrupt Sungskrit, and the second formed by compounding the word Nhi or Gni, a day, with the cardinals: the Newars have no simple words of their own, expressive of the seven days.

A variety of characters is met with in the Nepaulese and Bhotiya books, some of which are now obsolete. A manuscript, of which a copy is forwarded, contains a collection of these alphabets, each bearing a separate designation. Of the Newari, three kinds of letters are most familiarly known, and four of the Bhotiya.*

*Written Characters of Nepaul Proper.*

The three Newari alphabets (so to speak) are denominated Bhanjin Mola, Ranja, and Newari. Whether these three sorts of letters were formerly used by the Siva Márgi Newars,† I can-

* See Plates.

† The Siva Margi or Brahmanical Newars are very few in comparison of the Buddha-Margi. The former boast of a Southern race, and say they came from Tirhut in 1322, A. D. A few of them no doubt did: but they were soon merged in the prior dense population of Nepaul Proper, and now they are only distinguishable by their Brahmanical creed. They do not constitute a twentieth part of the Newar population.

lphabet

क्षरम्

नेपाल

| क | | ग | घ | ङ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| च | | ज | झ | ञ |
| ट | | ड | ढ | ण |

... population of Nepaul Proper, and now they are only
guishable by their Brahmanical creed. They do not constitute a twenti-
art of the Newar population.

Four s

Lanja

not say; but old Buddha works exhibit them all, especially the two former. Newari alone is now used by both sects of Newars for profane purposes; and for sacred, both often employ the Devanágari, oftener the Newari. If the Siva Márgi Newars ever used (which I doubt,) Bhanjin Mola, or Ranja, at least, they do so no longer; and the Newars of the Buddha faith having long ceased ordinarily to employ those letters in making copies of their scriptures, few can now *write* them, and the learned only (who are accustomed to refer to their old works) can *read* them with facility.

In regard to the origin of these letters, we may at once refer the Newari to Nágari; but the other two present at first sight more difficulties. Dr. Carey was, some time back, of opinion, that they are mere fanciful specimens of càligraphy. This notion is refuted by the fact of their extensive practical application, of which Dr. Carey was not aware when he gave that opinion. By comparing one of them (the Ranja) with the fourth alphabet of the Bhotiyas, it will be seen, that the general forms of the letters have a striking resemblance. And as this Lanja or Ranja is deemed exotic by the Bhotiyas, I have no doubt it will prove the same with the Newari letters so called: for the words Lanja, Lantza and Ranja are one and the same.* Of the Bhanjin Mola, it may be observed that it has a very ornate appearance, and, if the ornamental parts were stripped from the letters, they (as well as the Ranja) might be traced to a Devanágari origin, from the forms of which alphabet the Bauddhas might possibly alter them, in order to use them as a cover to the mysteries of their faith. The Bauddha literature is, originally, Indian. Now, though probability may warrant our supposing that those who originated it, together with its religion, might alter existing alphabetical forms for the purpose above hinted at, it will not warrant our conjecturing, that they would undergo the toil of inventing entirely new characters. All these systems of letters follow the Devanágari arrangement, nor should I hesitate to assign them all a Devanágari origin. Indeed it is well known to the learned, that there were anciently in the plains of India many sorts of written characters, since become ex-

* See a separate paper on this subject in the sequel.

tinct: and I have no doubt that the letters adverted to were part of these.

*Written Characters of Tibet.*

Of the Bhotiya characters, four kinds are distinguishable; but only two of them are known by name to the Newars: they are called (in Tibet as well as here) Uchhen and Umen. The first are capitals: the second, small letters: the third, running hand: and the fourth, as already observed, equivalent with the Nepaulese Ranja. There is also a character in use in or near Tibet which is ascribed to the Sokhpos, who are said to be a fierce and powerful people, living on the confines of Northern China Proper.

*Literature of Bhot or Tibet.*

The great bulk of the literature of Bhot (as of Nepaul) relates to the Bauddha religion. In Bhot the principal works are only to be found at the larger monasteries; but numerous Bhotiya books of inferior pretensions, are to be obtained at Katmandu from the poor traffickers and monks, who annually visit Nepaul on account of religion and trade.

The character of the great part of these latter, or the Bhotiya books *procured* in *Nepaul*, is that of popular tracts, suited to the capacity and wants of the humbler classes of society, among whom it is a subject of surprise, that literature of any kind should be so common in such a region as Bhot, and, more remarkably so, that it should be so widely diffused as to reach persons covered with filth, and destitute of every one of those thousand luxuries which (at least in our ideas) precede the great luxury of books.

Printing is, no doubt, the main cause of this great diffusion of books. Yet the very circumstance of printing being in such general use, is no less striking than this supposed effect of it; nor can I account for the one or other effect, unless by presuming that the hordes of religionists, with which that country (Tibet) swarms, have been driven by the tedium vitæ, to these admirable uses of their time.

The invention of printing, the Bhotiyas got from China; but

the universal use they make of it is a merit of their own. The poorest individual who visits this Valley from the north is seldom without his Pothi (book,) and from every part of his dress dangle charms (Jantras,) made up in slight cases, the interior of which exhibits the neatest workmanship in print.

Some allowance, however, should also be made for the very familiar power and habit of *writing*, possessed by the people at large: another feature in the moral picture of Bhot, hardly less striking than the prevalence of printing or the diffusion of books, and which I should not venture to point out, had I not had sufficient opportunities of satisfying myself of its truth among the annual sojourners in Nepaul who come here in hundreds to pay their devotions at the temple of the self-existent Supreme Buddha (Swayambhu Adi Buddha).

In the collections forwarded to the Society will be found a vast number of manuscripts—great and small—fragments, and entire little treatises—all which were obtained (as well as the small printed tracts) from the humblest individuals. Their number and variety will, perhaps, be allowed to furnish sufficient evidence of what I have said regarding the appliances of education in Tibet, if due reference be had, when the estimate is made to the scanty and entirely casual source whence the books were obtained in such plenty.

The many different kinds of writing which the MSS. exhibit will, perhaps, be admitted yet further to corroborate the general power of writing possessed by almost all classes of the people. Or, at all events, these various kinds and infinite degrees of penmanship, present a curious and ample specimen of Bhotiya proficiency in writing, let this proficiency belong to what class or classes it may.

Something of this familiar possession of the elements of education, which I have just noticed as characterising Bhot, may be found also in India; but more, I fear, in the theory of its institutions than in the practice of its present society, because of the successive floods of open violence which have, for ages, ravaged that, till lately devoted land. The repose of Bhot, on the other

hand, has allowed its pacific institutions full room to produce their natural effect; and hence we see a great part of the people of Bhot able to write and read.

In whatever I have said regarding the Press, the general power and habit of writing, or the diffusion of books, in Bhot, I desire to be understood by my European readers with many grains of allowance. These words are names importing the most different things in the world in the favoured part of Europe, and in Asia. The intelligent resident in Hindoosthan will have no difficulty in apprehending the exact force which I desire should be attached to such comprehensive phrases, especially if he will recollect for a moment that the press, writing and books, though most mighty engines, are but engines; and that the example of China proves to us indisputably, they may continue in daily use for ages in a vast society, without once falling into the hands of the strong man of Milton; and consequently, without awaking one of those many sublime energies, the full developement of which in Europe has shed such a glorious lustre around the path of man in this world.

The printing of Bhot is performed in the stereotype manner by wooden planks; which are often beautifully graved: nor are the limited powers of such an instrument felt as an inconvenience by a people, the entire body of whose literature is of an unchanging character.

The Bhotiya or Tibetan writing, again, often exhibits specimens of ready and graceful penmanship. But then it is never employed on any thing more useful than a note of business, or more informing than the dreams of blind mythology; and thus, too, the general diffusion of books (that most potent of spurs to improvement in our ideas) becomes, in Bhot, from the general worthlessness of the books diffused, at least but a comparatively innocent and agreeable means of filling up the tedious hours of the twilight of civilization.

With respect to the authorities of the Buddhist religion or their sacred scriptures, the universal tradition of the Nepaulese Buddhists, supported by sundry notices in their existing works, asserts, that the original body of these scriptures amounted, when com-

plete, to eighty-four thousand volumes—probably sutras or aphorisms, and not volumes in our sense.

### *Sungskrit Bauddha Literature of Nepaul Proper.*

The most authoritative of these works are known, collectively, and individually, by the names Sútra and Dharma, and in a work called the Púja Kánd there is the following passage:

"All that the Buddhas have said, as contained in the Maha Yána Sútra, and the rest of the Sútras, is Dharma Ratna," or precious science. Hence the Scriptures are also frequently called "Buddha Vachana," the words of Buddha. Sákya Sinha first reduced these words to order, if indeed he did not originate them; and, in this important respect, Sákya is to Buddhism what Vyasa is to Brahmanism. Sákya is the *last* (if not also the first and only) of the seven perfect Buddhas.

The old books universally assert this; the modern Bauddhas admit it, in the face of that host of ascetics, whom the easiness of latter superstition has exalted to the rank of a Tathágata. The sacred chronology is content with assigning Sákya to the Kali Yuga, and profane chronology is a science which the Buddhas seem never to have cultivated.* But the best opinion seems to be that Sákya died about five centuries before our æra. In the subsequent enumeration, it will be seen that Sákya is the "Speaker" in all the great works. This word answers to "hearer," and refers to the form of the works, which is, for the most part, that of a report of a series of lectures or lessons delivered verbally by Sákya to his favourite disciples, but sometimes diverging into dialogue between them. That Sákya Sinha first gave definite form to the substance of this creed, such as it has come down to our times, is demonstrable from the uniform tenour of that language of the great scriptural authorities to which I have adverted: for, before or after the enunciation of every cardinal text stand the words 'thus said Sákya Sinha,' or, 'so commanded Sákya Sinha.'

* Neither chronology, nor any thing else tangible and appreciable, extends beyond the age of Sákya.

The words Tantra and Purana, as expressive of the distinction of esoteric and exoteric works, are familiar to the Buddhas of Nepaul; but it would seem that their own more peculiar names are Upadésa and Vyákarana. Gátha, Játaka, and Avadán, seem to be rather subdivisions of Vyákarana than distinct classes.

The word Sútra is explained Múla Grantha, Buddha Vachana, (chief book, words of Buddha) and in this sense it has been held to be equivalent to the Sruti of the Brahmans, as has their Smriti to the Bauddha Vyákarana. But, apt as Buddhism is to forget the distinction of divine and human nature, the analogy must be defective; and, in fact, the Sútra of the Buddhists often comprehends not only their own proper Buddha Vachana, but also Bodhisatwa and Bhikshu Vachana; which latter the Brahmans would denominate Rishi Vachana, and, of course, assign to the Smriti, or comments by holy men upon the eternal truth of the Sruti.

The Newars assert that, of the original body of their sacred literature, but a small portion now exists. A legend, familiar to this people, assigns the destruction to Sankara Achárya; and 'the incomparable Sankara' of Sir W. Jones, is execrated by the Nepaulese Buddhas as a blood-stained bigot.*

Of the existing Bauddha writings of Nepaul (originally of Indian growth and still found unchanged in the Sungskrit language) by far the most important, of the *speculative* kind, are the five Khands of the Prajna Paramita or Racha Bhagavati, each of which contains 25,000 distiches. Of the *narrative* kind, the chief are eight of the nine works called the 'Nava Dharma;' the ninth being the Ashta Sahasrika Prajna Paramita. It is a valuable summary of the great work first mentioned, to which, therefore, rather than to these Dharmas, the Ashta Sahasrika bears essential affinity. In the sequel will be found a list of all the Sungskrit Buddha works known to me by name.†

* If the age in which Sankara flourished, be fixed with any correctness, he could not have been a persecutor of the Buddhists: for Sankara is placed in the eighth century before Christ; and Sákya, the founder of Buddhism, (for we have nothing authentic before him, or independent of him) certainly was not born sooner than about the middle of the sixth century, B. C.

† See the next paper for this list.

The five Rachas or Paramitas are enumerated in order in the immediately subsequent detail. They are of highly speculative character, belonging rather to philosophy than religion. The cast of thought is sceptical in the extreme: endless doubts are started, and few solutions of them attempted. Sákya appears surrounded by his disciples, by whom the arguments on each topic are chiefly maintained, Sákya acting generally as moderator, but sometimes as sole speaker. The topics discussed are the great first principles of Buddhism;* the tenets of the four schools of Bauddha Philosophy are mentioned, but those of the Swábhávika alone, largely discussed. The object of the whole work seems rather to be proof of the proposition, that doubt is the end as well as beginning, of wisdom, than the establishment of any particular dogmas of philosophy or religion: and from the evidence of this great work it would appear, that the old Bauddha philosophers were rather sceptics than atheists.

The nine Dharmas are as follows:

1. Ashta Sahasrika.
2. Ganda Vyúha.
3. Dasa Bhúmeswara.
4. Samadhi Raja.
5. Lankavatara.
6. Sad Dharma Púndariká.
7. Táthágata Guhyaká.
8. Lalita Vistara.
9. Súverna Prabhasa.

Divine worship is constantly offered to these nine works, as the Nava Dharma, by the Bauddhas of Nepaul. The aggregation of the nine is now subservient to ritual fancies, but it was originally dictated by a just respect for the pre-eminent authority and importance of these works, which embrace, in the first, an abstract of the philosophy of Buddhism; in the seventh, a treatise on the esoteric doctrines; and in the seven remaining ones, a full illustration of every point of the ordinary doctrine and discipline,

* See the sequel at "Religion of Nepaul and Bhot."

taught in the easy and effective way of example and anecdote, interspersed with occasional instances of dogmatic instruction. With the exception of the first, these works are, therefore, of a narrative kind; but interwoven with much occasional speculative matter. One of them (the Lalita Vistara) is the original authority for all those versions of the history of Sákya Sinha, which have crept, through various channels, into the notice of Europeans.

I esteem myself fortunate in having been first to discover and procure copies of these important works. To meditate and digest them is not for me; but I venture to hint that by so doing only can a knowledge of genuine Buddhism be acquired. Buddhism is not simple, but a vast and complicate structure, erected, during ages of leisure, by a literary people. It has its various schools divided by various Doctors; nor is the Buddhism of one age less different from that of another, than the Brahmanism of the Vedas, of the Puranas, and of the Bhagavat. Let it not be supposed, because these works were procured in Nepaul, that they are therefore of a local character or mountain origin.

Such a notion is, in every view, utterly absurd; for the works bear intrinsic evidence of the contrary in almost every page; and their language (Sungskrit,) always wholly exotic in Nepaul, most assuredly was *never* cultivated here with a zeal or ability such as the composition of these great works must have demanded.

These works were composed by the Sages of Magadha,* Kosila,† and Rajagriha,‡ whence they were transferred to Nepaul by Bauddha Missionaries soon after they had assumed their existing shape.

The Sámbhu Púrana is the only local work of importance in the large collection which I have made. Perhaps it may be surmised, that if (as is stated) the fire of Sankara's wrath consumed all, but some fragments of the sacred writings of the Buddhists, the ample works now produced must be spurious. But, in the first place, the legend is but a legend; and in the next, exaggeration may rea-

* The modern Bihar.

† Part of Oude and part of Rohilkhand.

‡ Rajmahal?

sonably be suspected, both as to number of books then extant and destroyed.

The Bauddhas never had eighty-four thousand principal scriptures;* nor *could* Sankara destroy more than a few of those which they really possessed when he came (if he ever came) to Nepaul. The proof of the latter statement is—that Buddhism was, long after Sankara's time, the prevalent and national faith of the Nepaulese Princes and subjects; and that it is so still in regard to the people, notwithstanding the Gorkha conquest. Sankara (or some other famous Brahmanical controversist) may have converted, one of the Princes of the Valley; but the others remained Buddhists; and, no doubt, took care of the faith and property of their subjects. All *old* Bauddha works are written in one of the three sorts of letters now peculiar to Nepaul Proper, usually in Ranja and Bhanjin Mola, and on Palmira leaves. Copies of the Racha Bhagavati or Prajna Paramita are very scarce. I am of opinion, after five years of enquiry, that there were but four copies of it in the Valley, prior to my obtaining one copy and a half: one copy more I got transcribed from an old one. No one had, for some time, been able fully to understand its contents; no new copy had been made for ages; and those few persons, who possessed one or more khands or sections of it, as heir-looms, were content to offer to sealed volumes the silent homage of their puja (worship). Time and growing ignorance have been the chief enemies of Sungskrit Buddha literature in Nepaul.

The Bauddha Scriptures are of twelve kinds, known by the following twelve names: 1. Sútra; 2. Geya; 3. Vyákarana; 4. Gátha; 5. Udan; 6. Nidan; 7. Ityukta; 8. Jataka; 9. Vaipulya; 10. Adbhuta Dharma; 11. Avadán; 12. Upadésa.

* We should doubtless read aphorism or text (Sútra or vana), not book, with reference to the 84,000 in question. The universality of the notion proves that this definite number has truth, in some sense, attached to it.

The primitive meaning of Sútra (aphorism, or thread of discourse,) implies that Sákya taught verbally; and if this be so, Sútra only took its present sense of principal scripture after his death. These sayings of Sákya may still be found all over the sacred works of the sect in their original aphoristic form. The destruction of Buddha books adverted to in the text, has, I fancy, reference to the *plains* of *India*. *There* it was complete, eventually: but in the mean while the most valuable works had been saved in Nepaul.

*Sútras* are the principal scriptures, (Mula Grantha) as the Racha Bhagavati or Prajna Paramita; they are equivalent to the Vedas of the Brahmanists.

*Geyas,* are works of praise, thanksgiving and pious fervour, in modulated language. The Gíta Govinda of the Brahmanists is equivalent to the Buddha Gíta Pushtaka, which belongs to the Geya.

*Vyákarana* are narrative works, containing histories of the several births of Sákya prior to his becoming Nirván; and sundry actions of others who by their lives and opinions have illustrated this religion, with various forms of prayer and of praise. Vyákarana, in the sense of narration, is opposed generally to works of philosophy or speculation, such as the Prajna Paramita. It also characterises works of an exoteric kind, as opposed to the Upadésa or Tantras.

*Gáthas* are narrative works, in verse and prose, containing moral and religious tales, (Anék Dharmakathá) relative to the Buddhas, or elucidative of the discipline and doctrine of the sect. The Lalita Vistara, is a Vyákarana of the sort called Gátha.

*Udan,* treat of the nature and attributes of the Buddhas, in the form of a dialogue between a Buddhist adept and novice.

*Nidan,* are treatises, in which the causes of events are shewn; as for example, how did Sákya become a Buddha? the reason or cause; he fulfilled the Dán, and other Paramitas.*

*Ityukta,* whatever is spoken with reference to, and in conclusion: the explanation of some prior discourse, is Ityukta.

*Jataka,* treat of the subject of transmigration or metempsychosis, the illustrations being drawn from the 550 births of Sákya.

*Vaipulya,* treat of several sorts of Dharma and Artha, that is, of the several means of acquiring the goods of this world (Artha) and of the world to come (Dharma).

*Adbhuta Dharma,* on preternatural events.

* Paramita here means virtue, the moral merit by which our escape (passage) from mortality is obtained. Dan, or charity, is the first of the ten cardinal virtues of the Buddhas: "and other" refers to the remaining nine. See Appendix A. of paper III.

*Avadán*, of the fruits of actions or moral law of Mundane existence.

*Upadésa*, of the esoteric doctrines equivalent to Tantra, the rites and ceremonies being almost identical with those of the Hindoo Tantras, but the chief objects of worship, different, though very many of the inferior ones are the same. According to the Upadésa, the Buddhas are styled Yogámbara and Digámbara. Tantrika works are very numerous. They are in general disgraced by obscenity and by all sorts of magic and dœmonology. But they are frequently redeemed by unusually explicit assertions of a supreme Godhead. Vajra Satwa Buddha is the magnus Apollo of the Tantrikas.

The following is an enumeration of some of the most important individual specimens of the preceding classes.

First khand, or section, of the Racha or Raksha Bhagavati or Prajna Paramita. It is a Maha Yána Sûtra Sástra. It begins with a relation (by himself) of how Sákya became Bhagaván (deified); and how he exhorted his disciples to study and meditate his principles; and how he explained the doctrine of Avidya, that is, as long as Avidya* lasts, the world lasts, when Avidya ceases, (Nirodha) the world ceases; aliter, Pravritti ends, and Nirvritti* begins. Such are the general contents of the former part of this khand; and the latter part of it is occupied with explanations of Sunyata and Maha Sunyata.* Sákya is the speaker, the hearers are Subhuti, and other Bhikshukas: the style is prose (Gadya).

Second and third khands of the Raksha Bhagavati. Contents the same as above.

The fourth khand of the Raksha Bhagavati relates, how any one becomes Sarvakarmajná, or skilled in the knowledge of all things on earth and in heaven; in a word, omniscient; besides which, the subjects of the former khands are treated of, in continuation, in this.

The fifth khand of the Raksha Bhagavati. Besides Avidya,

* See the explanation of these terms in the sequel. They form the basis of the philosophy of Buddhism.

Sunyata, and all the other great topics of the prior khands, this khand contains the names of the Buddhas, and Bodhisatwas.

These five khands or divisions are each called Pancha, Vingsati, Sahasrika, Prajna Paramita; the three first words indicating the extent of each division, and the two last, the nature of the subject or transcendental wisdom. Sata Sahasrika is a collective name of the four first khands, to which the fifth is not necessarily adjunct; and indeed it is apparently an abstract of the Sata Sahasrika. Arya Bhagavati and Raksha Bhagavati, or holy Goddess and Goddess of Deliverance, are used, indifferently with Prajna Paramita, as titles of each or all of these five khands. The five khands are all in prose, and comprise the philosophy of Buddhism.

*Ashtasahasrika Prajna Paramita*, a Maha Yána Sútra. An epitome of the transcendental topics discoursed of at large in the Racha Bhagavati. It is prose. Sákya is the speaker; and Subhuti and other Bhikshukas,* the hearers.

### *Ashta Sahasrika Vyakhya.*

This is a comment on the last work by Hara Bhadra, in verse and prose.

*Ganda Vyuha*, a Vyákarana Sástra, contains forms of supplication and of thanksgiving, also how to obtain Budhijuyán, or the wisdom of Buddhism. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Sudhana Kumara.

*Dasa Bhumeswara*, a Vyákarana, containing an account of the ten Bhumis.† Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshuka.

*Samádhi Raja*, a Vyákarana; an account of the actions by which the wisdom of Buddhism is acquired, and of the duties of Budhisatwas. Prose speaker, Sákya, and hearers, Ravana and others.

*Sad Dharma Pundarika*, a Vyákarana, an account of the Maha and other Dipa Dánas, or of the lights to be maintained in ho-

* Bhikshu, name of a Buddhist mendicant. See on to section on Religion.

† Ten heavens, or ten stages of perfectibility.

nour of the Buddhas, and Bodhisatwas; with narrations of the lives of several former Buddhas by Sákya, as well as prophetic indications of the future eminence of some of his disciples. Speakers and hearers, Sákya, Maitreya, Munjusri, &c.

*Lalita Vistara.* This is a Vyákarana of the sort called Gátha. It contains a history of the several births of Sákya, and how, in his last birth, he acquired perfect wisdom, and became Buddha. Verse and prose speaker, Sákya; hearers, Maitreya and others.

*Guhya Samagha,* otherwise called Tathágata Guhyaka, an Upadésa or Tantra; contains numerous mantras, with explanations of the manner of performing esoteric rites. Prose and verse speaker, Bhagavan (i. e. Sákya); hearers, Vajra Pani Bodhisatwa and others.

*Súvarna Prabhasa,* a Vyákarana Sástra, discourses by Sákya for the benefit of Lakshmi, Saraswati and others; also an account of the Bhagavat Dhátu, or mansions of the deities. Prose and verse speaker, Sákya; hearers, Sitsavi Kumara, the above named Goddesses and others.

*Swayambhu Púrana,* the greater; a Vyákarana of the sort called Gáthá: an account of the manifestation of Swayambhu or Adi Buddha* in Nepaul, and the early history of Nepaul. Verse speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshuka.

*Swayambhu Púrana,* the less, a Gáthá, summary of the above; an account of Swayambhu Chaitya, (or temple). Verse and prose speaker and hearer, as above.

*Karanda Vyuha,* an account of Lokeswara Padma Pani. Prose speaker and hearer, as above.

*Guna Karanda Vyuha,* a Gáthá; an amplification of the above in verse. Speaker and hearer, as above.

*Mahavastu,* an Avadán Sástra; an account of the fruits of actions, like the Karma Vipaka of the Brahmans. Prose speaker and hearer, as before.

*Asóka Avadán;* an account of the Triad, or Buddha Dharma Sangha, also of the Chaityas, with the fruits of worshipping them. Verse speaker, Upagupta Bhikshuka; hearer, Asoka Raja.

* Swayambhu means self-existent. Adi, first, and Buddha, wise.

*Bhadra Kalpika*, an Avadán Sástra; a detailed account of the Buddhas, past and to come. Verse and prose speaker, Sákya; hearers, Upagupta Bhikshuka, with a host of immortals and mortals.

*Játaka Mála;* an account of the meritorious actions of Sákya in his several births, prior to his becoming a Tathagátá. Verse and prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

*Manichura*, an Avadán; an account of the first birth of Sákya, and of the fruits of his actions. Prose speaker and hearer, as above.

*Dwavinsati Avadán*, an Avadán Sástra; an account of the fruits of building, worshipping and circumambulating* Chaityas. Verse and prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Maitreya.

*Nandi Mukha Swaghosha*, an Avadán; an account of the great fast called Vasundhara, and of the fruit of observing it. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda.

*Bodhi-charyá*, an Avadán Sástra, of the sort called Kávya; contains a highly laudatory account of the virtue of charity and of the Bodhi-Charyá, or Buddhist duties. Verse speaker, Maitreya; hearer, Sudhana Kumara.

*Karuna-Púndarika*, an Avadán; an account of Arinemi Raja; of Samudra Renu, Purohit; of Ratna Garbha, Tathagátá; and of Avalokiteswara, (i. e. Padma Pani Bodhisatwa) interspersed with sundry philosophical topics which are discussed by Sákya in a broken manner. Sákya, then, in anticipation of his demise, gives directions as to the mode in which his system is to be taught. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearers, Maitreya, &c.

*Chandómrita Mála*, a treatise of prosody; the measures illustrated by verses laudatory of Sákya Sinha. Verse and prose: the author Amrita Bhikshu.

*Lokeswara Sataka*, a hundred verses in praise of Padma Pani. Verse author, Vajra Datta Bhikshu.

* This circumambulation is one of the commonest and most pious actions of Buddhist devotion. Mental prayers are repeated all the while, and a small cylinder fixed upon the upper end of a short staff or handle, is held in the right hand and kept in perpetual revolution.

*Saraka Dhára,* with a comment; a Kávya in praise of Arya Tárá, Buddha Sakti. Verse: author, Sarvajna Mitrapáda, Bhikshu.

*Aparamita Dharani,* an Upadésa;* contains many Dharanis addressed to the Buddhas, who are immortal (Aparamitayusha Tathagátá). Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

*Dharani Sangraha,* a collection of Dharanis, as Maha Vairochans D. Maha Manjusris D. and those of many other Buddhas and Buddhisatwas. Verse speaker, Sákya; hearer, Vajra Pani.

*Pancha Rakshá,* an Upadésa Dharani; an account of the five Buddha Saktis, called Pratisará, &c.† Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda.

*Pratyangira Dharani,* an Upadésa Dharani; an account of Pratyangira Buddha Sakti. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

*Tárá Satnama,* an Upadésa Dharani, contains an account of Arya Tárá, of her hundred names, her Vija mantras, &c. Verse speaker, Padma Pani; hearer, Vajra Pani.

*Sugatavadán,* an Avadán Sástra, contains an account of the feast kept in honor of Sanghas or Buddhisatwas. Verse speaker, Vasundhara Buddhisatwa; hearer, Pushpakétu Rajkumar.

*Sukhavati Loka,* account of the so called heaven of Amitabha Buddha. Verse speaker, Sákya; hearers, Ananda and others.

*Saptavára Dharani,* an Upadésa of the sort termed Dharani; an account of the seven Devis (Buddha Saktis) called Vasundhara, Vajra Vidarini, Ganapati Hridaya, Ushnisha Vijaya, Parna Savari, Marichi, Graha Matriká, together with their Vija mantras. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearers, Ananda and others.

*Sriya Sangraha,* an Upadésa; an account of the Tantrika ritual. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearers, Vajra Pani, &c. resembles the Mahodadhi of the Brahmans.

*Sumaghávadan,* an Avadán Sástra; an account of the heaven

* Dharani, though derived from the Upadesa, are exoteric. They are short significant forms of prayer, similar to the Panchanga of the Brahmans. Who ever constantly repeats or wears (made up in little lockets) a dharani, possesses a charmed life.

† See classified enumeration of the principal objects of Buddhist worship.

(Bhuvan) of the Bhikshukas; near the close is a story of the merchant Sumagha and his wife, whence the name of the work. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda.

*Chaitya Pungava*, an Avadán on the worship of the Chaityas. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Suchetana Bhikshuka.

*Kathinavadán*, an Avadán Sástra; containing an account of the merit and reward of giving the Pindapatra,* Khikshari, Chivara and Nivasa to Bhikshukas. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Kasyapa Bhikshu.

*Pindapatravadán*, an account of the begging platter of the Bhikshus, and of the merit of bestowing it to them. Prose speaker and hearer, as above.

*Dhwajágra Keyuri*, an Upadésa, or Tantra Dharani; an account of Dhwajagra Keyuri, Buddha Sakti. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Indra Deva (the god).

*Graha Matrika*, a Tantra Dharani; account of Graha Matrika, Buddha Sakti. Speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

*Nágapújá*, a manual of worship to the Nagas for rain. It is extracted from the Sádhana Mála. It is of the same character as the Vrata Paddhati of the Brahmans.

*Mahakála Tantra*, an Upadésa; account of the worship to be paid to Mahakála. Prose, Vajra Satwa Bhagavan (i. e. Buddha); speaker and hearer, his Sakti, named Vajra Sattwatmaki.

*Abhidhánottarottara*, an Upadésa; account of the exoteric rites. Prose speaker, Vajra Satwa Bhagavan; hearer, Vajra Pani. The rites prescribed by this book resemble in character the Saiva ritual, and differ from it only in being addressed to different objects.

*Vinaya Sútra*, Treatise on Discipline. Author, Chandra Kirti Acharya. It is equivalent to the Vyása Sútra of the Brahmans.

*Kalpalatávadán*, an Avadán, a highly ornate account of the first birth of Sákya, and of the fruits of his actions in that birth. Verse: author, Kshemendra Bhikshu.

* The begging platter, staff, and slender habiliments of the Buddha mendicant are called by the names in the text. The Chivara is the upper, the Nivasa the lower, garb.

*Gíta Pushtaka,* a Geya; a collection of songs on Tantrika topics, by various hands.

*Stotra Sangraha,* the praises of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. In verse of various measures and by various authors.

*Divyávadán,* an Avadán Sástra, containing various legends of the first birth of Sákya. Verse and prose speaker, Sákya; hearers, Ananda Bhikshu and others.*

### *Bhote Literature in the language of Tibet.*

The following list of a more miscellaneous description.

### *Bhotiya Works.*

Name, Súmachik; author, Thula Lama; place where written, Khanam in Bhote; subject, Jurisprudence.

Name, Chama Dam; author, Aguchu Lama; place, Tíja Nowa; subject, similar to the Sagun Pothi of the Hindoos.

Name, Charúg; author, Thiya Lama; place, Gejaketha; subject, the Jnyan Pothi of the Hindoos, or divine wisdom.

Name, Chúrúge Chapah; author, Yepah Regreh Maha Lama; place, Pargreh ah chu; subject, cure of all diseases.

Name, Tuchurakh; author, Suka Lama; place, Jab-la Denuk; subject, read by mendicant monks to prosper their petition for alms.

Name, Mani Pothi; author, Chufil Lama; place, Gumewan; subject, the use and virtue of the mani or praying cylinder.

Name, Chú Dam; author, Gevighup Lama; place, Yeparkas; subject, medicine.

Name, Napache Pothi; author, Aberak Lama; place, Jatu Lam; subject, physical science, or the winds, rain, weather.

Name, Kichak; author, Kilúah Lama; place, Botehi; subject, witchcraft, demonology, &c.

Name, Tui takh lu; author, Rakachandah Lama; place, Kubakh; subject, science of war.

* Since the above was composed, I have added greatly to my stock of Sungskrit works. For their names, see the list appended to next paper—Note of 1837.

Name, Dutakh-a-si; author, Bajachik Lama; place, Gnama; subject, read by survivors on the death of a relation, that they may not be haunted by his ghost.

Name, Serua-takh; author, Takachik Lama; place, Yipurki. To be read by travellers, during their wanderings, for the sake of a safe return.

Name, Sata-tu-mah; author, Yisahsekar Lama; place, Sebhala; subject, read previous to sitting on a panchaet for a prosperous issue thereof.

Name, Kerikh; author, Amadatakh Lama; place, Asi; subject, to be read for increase of temporal goods.

Name, Numbeh; author, Titakh Lama; place, Bere-ga-hakh; subject, to be read at times of gathering flowers for worship.

Name, Dekmujah; author, Múntake-tan Lama; place, Múnká; subject, to be read previous to laying the foundation of a house.

Name, Thaka-pah; author, Gagamatakh Lama; place, Macha-lekoh; subject, to be read whilst feeding the sacred fishes at the temples; a very holy act.

Name, Kusa; author, Nemachala Lama; place, Yeparenesah; subject, to be read at the time of bathing.

Name, Lahassa-ki-pothi; author, Uma Lama; place, Lassa; subject, to be read before eating, while dinner is serving up, to keep off wicked spirits.

Name, Chandapu; author, Grahah Lama; place, Jubu-nasah; subject, to be read previous to making purchases.

Name, Sachah; author, Urjanh Lama; place, Jadún; subject, to be repeated whilst exonerating themselves, that no evil spirit may come up.

Name, Báchah; author, Jahadegh Lama; place, Maharah; subject, to be read by lone travellers, in forests and bye-ways, for protection.

Name, Kajaw; author, Olachavah Lama; place, Káráh; subject, to be read by a dead man's relatives to free his soul from purgatory.

Name, Yidaram; author, Machal Lama; place, Sadurl; sub-

ject, to facilitate interviews, and make them happy in their issues.

Name, Ditakh; author, Chopallah Lama; place, Urasikh; subject, to interpret the ominous croaking of crows, and other inauspicious birds.

Name, Káráchakh; author, Khuchak Lama; place, Pheragiah.

Name, Chalah; author, Gidu Lama; place, Bídakh; subject, to be read at the time of drinking, that no ill may come of the draught.

Name, Kegú; author, Tupathwo Lama; place, Kabajeh; subject, for increase of years, and a long life.

Name, Chabeh; author, Akabeh Lama; place, Arí Kalaguh; subject, to be read for removing the inclemencies of the season.

Name, Kaghatukh; author, Sugnah Lama; place, Bole Káchar; subject, to be read by horsemen, at seasons of journies that they may come to no harm.

Name, Lúchú; author, Nowlah Lama; place, Chagúra Kahah; subject, to be read for increase of eloquence and knowledge of languages.

Name, Ghikatenah; author, Sujanah Lama; place, Seakuhah; subject, to be read by archers for success of their craft.

Name, the Baudh Pothi, or history of the founding of the Temple of Kasachit in Nepaul, with other matters appertaining to Buddhism in Nepaul.

Name, Siri Pothi; author, Bistakow Lama; place, Jamatakh; a general form of prayer for rich and poor, sick and healthy, man and woman.

---

The latter of these lists (of Bhotiya books) is a mere thing of shreds and patches, and, in fact, I have no means of enumerating the standard works of Tibetan literature. But I have no doubt that Tibet is indebted for its literature to Buddha Missionaries, and Refugees from Hindustan. These individuals carried with them, and subsequently procured from India, many of the sacred and profane works of their sect, and, as was their wont, they im-

mediately began to instruct the people of Bhot in their own, that is, in the Sungskrit, letters and language. They had, no doubt, some success in this measure in the first period of their emigration into Bhot; but, in the end, the difficulties of Sungskrit, and the succession of Native teachers to the chairs of the original Indian emigrants, led to the preference of the Bhotiya language, and, consequently, to a translation of all the Sungskrit works they had, and could obtain from India, into the vernacular tongue of the country. This resort to translation took place very early; a circumstance which, aided by the lapse of time, and the further decline of the original literary ardour, inspired by the Indian Refugees, produced, at no distant period from the decease of the first Indian teachers, the oblivion of Sungskrit, and the entire supercession of original Sungskrit versions by translations into Tibetan. The Bhotiyas,* however, although they thus soon lost the Sungskrit language, retained the Deva Nagari letters. The result of the whole is, that the body of Bhotiya literature now is, and long has been, a mass of translations from Sungskrit; its language, native; its letters, (like its ideas,) Indian. To support this view of the case, I have to observe, that even the Nepaulese, much nearer as they are to India, and much more cultivated in some respects as they are, have resorted extensively to vernacular comments, and even translations of their books, which also are Sungskrit; and that, although the Newars have a good language of their own, they have no letters, but such as are clearly of Deva Nagari origin, and declared by themselves to be so: that all the Bhotiyas, with whom I have conversed, assure me that they got all their knowledge from India; that their books are translations; that the originals, here and there, still exist in Bhot, but that now no one can read them; lastly, that most of the great Bhotiya classics proclaim, by their very names, the fact.† These remarks are appli-

* Bhot is the Sungskrit, and Tibet the Persian, name of the country. The native name is Bot-pa, a mere corruption of the Sungskrit appellation, proving that the Tibetans had not reached a general designation for their country when their Indian teachers came among them.

† Note of 1837. It is needless now to say, how fully these views have been con-

ed, of course, to the classics of Bhot, for, in regard to works of less esteem there, I believe such to be not translations, but originals; chiefly legends of the Lamas, and in the vernacular tongue, (the best dialect of which is that spoken about Lassa and Digarchi,) but still, like the translated classics, written in letters essentially Indian.

## *Religion of Nepaul and of Bhot.*

An accurate and complete view of the Bauddha system of belief would involve the severe study of a number of the voluminous Sungskrit works above specified, and would demand more time than could be bestowed upon the task by any person, not otherwise wholly unemployed. A few observations must, therefore, suffice in this place on the religious notions of the Bauddhas of this part of India, and in making them I shall keep chiefly in view the facilitation of the study of a new subject on the part of those who may find time and courage to explore the great and new mine of Sungskrit literature which it has been my fortune to discover in Nepaul.

Speculative Buddhism embraces four very distinct systems of opinion respecting the origin of the world, the nature of a first cause, and the nature and destiny of the soul.

These systems are denominated, from the diognostic tenet of each, Swábhávika, Aishwariká, Yátnika, and Kármika; and each of these, again, admits of several sub-divisions, comprising divers reconciling theories of the later Bauddha teachers, who, living in quieter times than those of the first Doctors, and instructed by the taunts of their adversaries, and by adversity, have attempted to explain away what was most objectionable, as well as contradictory, in the orginal system.

The Swábhávikas deny the existence of immateriality; they assert that matter is the sole substance, and they give it two modes,

confirmed by the researches of De Coros. It is but justice to myself to add that the real nature of the Kahgyur and Stangyur was expressly stated and proved by me to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society some time before Mr. De Coros' ampler revelations were made.

called Pravritti, and Nirvritti, or action and rest, concretion and abstraction. Matter, they say, is eternal as a crude mass (however infinitesimally attenuated in Nirvritti); and so are the *powers* of matter, which powers possess not only activity, but intelligence. The proper state of existence of these powers is that of rest, and of abstraction from every thing palpable and visible, (Nirvritti), in which state they are so attenuated, on the one hand, and so invested with infinite attributes of power and skill on the other, that they want only consciousness and moral perfections to become gods. When these powers pass from their proper and enduring state of rest into their casual and transitory state of activity, then all the beautiful forms of nature or of the world come into existence, not by a divine creation, nor by chance, but spontaneously; and all these beautiful forms of nature cease to exist, when the same powers repass again from this state of Pravritti, or activity, into the state of Nirvritti, or repose.

The revolution of the states of Pravritti* and Nirvritti† is eternal, and with them revolve the existence and destruction of nature or of palpable forms. The Swábhávikas are so far from ascribing the order and beauty of the world to blind chance, that they are peculiarly fond of quoting the beauty of visible form as a proof of the intelligence of the formative powers; and they infer their eternity from the eternal succession of new forms. But they insist that these powers are inherent in matter, and not impressed on it by the finger of God, that is, of an absolutely immaterial being. Inanimate forms are held to belong exclusively to Pravritti, and therefore to be perishable; but animate forms, among which man is not distinguished sufficiently, are deemed capable of becoming by their own efforts associated to the eternal state of Nirvritti; their bliss in which state consists of repose or release from an otherwise endlessly recurring migration through the visible forms of Pravritti. Men are endowed with consciousness, as well,

* Pra, an intensitive prefix; and Vritti, action, avocation, from va to blow as the wind.

† Nir, a privitive prefix, and Vritti as before.

I believe, of the eternal bliss* of the rest of Nirvritti, as of the ceaseless pain of the activity of Pravritti. But these men who have won the eternity of Nirvritti, are not regarded as rulers of the universe, which rules itself; nor as mediators or judges of mankind still left in Pravritti; for the notions of mediation and judgement are not admitted by the Swábhávikas, who hold every man to be the arbiter of his own fate—good and evil in Pravritti being, by the constitution of nature, indissolubly linked to weal and woe; and the acquisition of Nirvritti being, by the same inherent law, the inevitable consequence of such an enlargement of his faculties, by habitual abstraction, as will enable a man to know what Nirvritti is. To know this, is to become omniscient, a Buddha; to be divinely worshipped as such, while yet lingering in Pravritti; and to become, beyond the grave, or in Nirvritti, all at least that man can become, an all respecting which some of the Swábhávikas have expressed much doubt, while others of them have insisted that it is eternal repose, and not eternal annihilation† (Sunyata); though, adds this more dogmatical school, were it even Sunyata, it would still be good; man being otherwise doomed to an eternal migration through all the forms of nature; the more desirable of which are little to be wished; and the less so, at any price to be shunned.

From the foregoing sketch it will be seen, that the most diognostic tenets of the Swábhávikas are, the denial of immateriality, and the assertion that man is capable of enlarging his faculties to infinity. The end of this enlargement of human faculties is association to the eternal rest of Nirvritti, respecting the value of which there is some dispute; and the means of it are, Tapas and Dhyán; by the former of which terms, the Swábhávikas understand, not penance, or self-inflicted bodily pain, but a perfect rejection of all outward (Pravrittika) things; and, by the latter, pure mental

* The prevalent doctrine is, that they are; some doctors, however, say no; the question turns on the prior acceptation of Sunyata, for which see on.

† This interpretation of the Swábhávika Sunyata is *not* the general one, though the opponents of Buddhism have attempted to make it so; for the prevalent sense of the word among the Buddhas, see on.

abstraction. In regard to physics, the Swábhávikas do not reject design or skill, but a designer, that is, a single, immaterial, self-conscious being, who gave existence and order to matter by volition. They admit what we call the laws of matter, but insist that those laws are primary causes, not secondary; are inherent eternally in matter, not impressed on it by an immaterial creator. They consider creation a spontaneity, resulting from powers which matter has had from all eternity, and will have to all eternity. So with respect to man, they admit intellectual and moral powers, but deny that immaterial essence or being, to which we ascribe those powers. Animate and inanimate causation, they alike attribute to the proper vigour of nature, or Swábháva. I believe the Swábhávika to be the oldest school of Buddhist philosophy; but that school has, from the earliest times, been divided into two parties, one called the Swábhávikas simply, whose tenets I have endeavoured to state above, the other termed the Prajnika Swábhávikas, from Prajna,* the supreme wisdom; viz. of nature.

The Prajnikas agree with the Swábhávikas, in considering matter as the sole entity, in investing it with intelligence as well as activity, and in giving it two modes, or that of action and that of rest. But the Prajnikas incline to unitize the powers of matter in the state of Nirvritti; to make that unit, deity; and to consider man's summum bonum, not as a vague and doubtful association to the state of Nirvritti; but as a specific and certain absorption into Prajna, the *sum* of all the powers, active and intellectual, of the universe. The Aishwarikás admit of immaterial essence, and of a supreme infinite, and self-existent Deity (Adi Buddha) whom some of them consider as the sole deity and cause of all things, while others associate with him a coequal and eternal material principle; believing that all things proceeded from the joint operation of these *two* principles. The Aishwarikás accept the two modes of the Swábhávikas and Prajnikas, or Pravritti and Nirvritti. But, though the Aishwarikás admit immaterial essence, and

* Prajna, from pra, an intensitive prefix, and Jnyána, wisdom, or perhaps, the simpler jna.

a God, they deny his providence and dominion; and though they believe Moksha to be an absorption into his essence, and vaguely appeal to him as the giver of the good things of Pravritti, they deem the connection of virtue and felicity in Pravritti to be independent of him, and the bliss of Nirvritti to be capable of being won only by their own efforts of Tapas and Dhyán, efforts which they too are confident will enlarge their faculties to infinity, will make them worthy of being worshipped as Buddhas on earth, and will raise them in heaven, to an equal and self-earned participation of the attributes and bliss of the Supreme Adi Buddha; for such is their idea of Moksha, or absorption into him, or, I should rather say, of union with him. All the Bauddhas agree in referring the use and value of mediation, (earthly and heavenly,) of the rights and duties of morality, and of the ceremonies of religion, solely to Pravritti, a state which they are all alike taught to contemn; and to seek, by their own efforts of abstraction, that infinite extension of their faculties, the accomplishment of which realizes, in their own persons, a godhead as complete as any of them, and the only one which some of them will acknowledge. The Kármikas and Yátnikas derive their names, respectively, from Kárma, by which I understand conscious moral agency, and Yátna, which I interpret conscious intellectual agency. I believe these schools to be more recent than the others, and attribute their origin to an attempt to rectify that extravagant quietism, which, in the other schools, stripped the powers above, (whether considered as of material or immaterial natures,) of all personality, providence and dominion; and man, of all his active energies and duties. Assuming as just, the more general principles of their predecessors, they seem to have directed their chief attention to the phœnomena of human nature, to have been struck with its free will, and the distinction between its cogitative and sensitive powers, and to have sought to prove, notwithstanding the necessary moral law of their first teachers, that the felicity of man must be secured, either by the proper culture of his moral sense,* which was the

* Notwithstanding these sentiments, which are principally referable to the state

sentiment of the Kármikas, or, by the just conduct of his understanding, a conclusion which the Yátnikas preferred: and this, I believe to be the ground of distinction between these two schools as compared with one another. As compared with their predecessors, they held a closer affinity with the Aishwarikás than with the other schools, inclined to admit the existence of immaterial entities, and endeavoured to correct the absolute impersonality and quiescence of the Causa Causarum, (whether material or immaterial,) by feigning Kárma or Yátna, conscious moral, or conscious intellectual agency, to have been with causation from the beginning. The Kármika texts often hold such a language as this, "Sákya Sinha, who, according to some (the Swábhávikas), sprang from Swábháva, and, according to others, (the Aishwarikás,) from Adi Buddha, performed such and such Kármas, and reaped such and such fruits from them."

In regard to the destiny of the soul, I can find no essential difference of opinion between the Bauddha and the Brahmanical sages. By all, metempsychosis and absorption are accepted. But absorbed into what? into Brahme, say the Brahmans, into Sunyata, or Swábháva, or Prajna, or Adi Buddha, say the various sects of the Buddhists. And I should add, that by their doubtful Sunyata, I do not, in general, understand annihilation, nothingness, but rather that extreme and almost infinite attenuation which they ascribe to their material powers of forces in the state of Nirvritti, or of abstraction from all particular palpable forms, such as compose the sensible world or Pravritti. By tracing the connexion of Sunyata with Akásh, and, through it, with the more palpable elements, in the evolution and revolution of Pravritti, it may be plainly seen, that Sunyata is the ubi and the modus of primal entity in the last and highest state of abstraction from all particular modifications such as our senses and understanding are cognizant of.

How far, and in what exact sense, the followers of these diverse and opposite systems of speculation adopted the innumera-

state of Pravritti, the Kármikas and Yátnikas still held preferentially to the Tapas and Dhyán, the severe meditative ascceticism, of the older schools.

ble deities of the existent Buddhist Pantheon, it must rest with future research accurately to determine. For my part, I have no stomach for the marshalling of such an immense, and for the most part useless, host.* But some of the principal objects of worship, with their relation and connexion, may be noticed. The leading, and most fundamental association of these objects is, that of the triad, or three persons named Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. In the transcendental and philosophic sense, Buddha means mind, Dharma, matter, and Sangha, the concretion of the two former in the sensible or phœnomenal world. In a practical and religious sense, Buddha means the mortal author of this religion (Sákya), Dharma, his law, and Sangha, the congregation of the faithful.

The triad is liable to a theistic or atheistic interpretation in the higher or philosophic sense, according as Buddha is preferred or postponed to Dharma.

The next, and a very marked distinction of persons, is established in this creed between those avowed mortals who win the rank and powers of a Buddha by their own efforts, and the Buddhas of a celestial nature and origin.

The former of these are seven† who are all characterised as "Mánushi" or human; the latter are five or six, and are contradistinguished as "Anupapádaká," without parents, and also as "Dhyáni," or divine.

This second appellation of the Celestial Buddhas is derived from the Sungskrit name for that abstracted musing which has found more or less favour with almost all the Asiatic religionists, but which is peculiarly and pre-eminently characteristic of Buddhism.

The Dhyáni Buddhas, with Adi Buddha, their chief, are usually and justly referred to the Theistic school.

The epithet Dhyáni, however, as applied to a class of Buddhas, is obviously *capable* of an atheistic interpretation. It is neverthe-

* See Appendix B of Paper III. for a goodly array.

† Called Vipasyi, Sikhi, Viswabhu, Kakutsanda, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa, and Sákya Sinha.

less certain, that, in whatever sense other schools may admit this term, or the class of Divinities which it characterises, the Aishwarikâs (beyond the bounds of Nepaul too) ascribe this creative Dhyán to a *self-existent*, *infinite*, and *omniscient* " Adi Buddha," one of whose attributes is the possession of five sorts of wisdom. Hence he is called " Pánchajnyáná Atmiká ;" and it was by virtue of these five sorts of wisdom, that he, by five successive acts of Dhyán, created, from the beginning and for the duration of the present system of worlds, the " Pancha Buddha Dhyáni."

The names and graduation of these Jnyâns, Dhyâns, and Buddhas are thus :—

| *Jnyánas.* | *Dhyánas.* | *Buddhas.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Suvisuddha Dharma Dhatu. | The Dhyân of creation is called by one generic name Loka-Sansarjana ; and by five repetitions of this, the five Buddhas were created. | 1. Vairochana. |
| 2. Adarshana. | | 2. Akshobhya. |
| 3. Prativé Kshana. | | 3. Ratnasambhava. |
| 4. Samta. | | 4. Amitabha.* |
| 5. Krityânushthân. | | 5. Amoghasiddha. |

It might be expected, that the supreme Buddha, having created these five celestials, would have devolved on them the active cares of the creation and government of the world. Not so, however ; the genius of genuine Buddhism is eminently quiescent, and hence these most exalted œons are relieved from the degradation of action. Each of them receives, together with his existence, the virtues of that Jnyán and Dhyán, to the exertion of which, by Adi Buddha, he owed his existence ; and by a similar exertion of both, he again produces a Dhyáni Bodhisatwa. The Dhyáni Bodhisatwas are, one by one, in succession, the literary and active authors of creation. These creations are but perishable ; and,

* Original of the Chinese O-mi-to, a word as utterly without meaning as their Bonze, of which latter the Sungskrit Bandya is the real and significant form. Amitábha is the immeasurably splendid. Bandya is a person entitled to reverence, and the collective or general appellation of all professed or ascetical followers of Buddha.

since the beginning of time, three of them have passed away. The present world is, therefore, the work of the fourth Bodhisatwa, who is now Lord of the ascendant, and his worshippers in Nepaul are wont to invest him with all the powers of a supreme and sole God, the "Prœsens Divus" being, as usual, every thing. When the existing system of worlds shall have run its course, the offices of creator and governor of the next will be assumed by the fifth Bodhisatwa.

The names and lineage of these Dhyáni Bodhisatwas are as follows:

| *Buddhas.* | *Bodhisatwas.* |
|---|---|
| 1. Vairochana. | 1. Samantabhadra. |
| 2. Akshobhya. | 2. Vajra Pani. |
| 3. Ratnasambhava. | 3. Retna Pani. |
| 4. Amitabha. | 4. Padma Pani. |
| 5. Amoghasiddha. | 5. Viswa Pani. |

The Dhyáni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas are considered to stand in the relation of fathers and sons to each other; and as there are Dhyáni Bodhisatwas, so are there Mánushi Bodhisatwas, who again bear to their respective Mánushi Buddhas, the connexion of pupil to teacher, of graduate to adept, of the aspirant after the wisdom of Buddhism to him who possesses that wisdom. I should add, that it is competent for a mortal man to become a Buddha,* whilst he yet lingers in the flesh, albeit, the entire fulfilment of the rewards, if not of the prerogatives, of that transcendent character is assigned to a more unearthly state, viz. the state of Nirvritti. In the above remarks I have inserted only the quinary series of Dhyáni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas. But there is, also, a series of six, the Buddha Vajra Satwa, and the Bodhisatwa Vajra Pani, being added to the series of five, to perfect the larger series. Further, as the five material elements, (1) the five senses, (2) and the five respective (outward) objects of sense, (3)

* Hence the Divine Lamas of Bhot; though the original idea has been perverted somewhat.

(1) Five Bhutas. (2) Five Indriyas. (3) Five Ayatanas.

are referred to the series of five Buddhas, so the intellect, (1) with apprehension in its kind, (2) and the express objects of such apprehension, or the moral laws of the universe, (3) are referred to Vajra Satwa Buddha. And it should not escape remark, that the above associations give somewhat of the dignity of useful knowledge to what must otherwise have been mere voces et præterea nil.

Nor is there any want of sufficing original authority for the series of six Celestial Buddhas,* any more than for the series of five, though the latter may be, and perhaps is, the older. Wherefore I will take leave in this place to caution the reader against exclusive and confined opinions, founded upon any *one* enumeration he may find; as for instance, that of the Pancha Buddha Dhyáni. Any particular enumeration may have a definite object. But that does not imply that any other and larger enumeration, also with an express object, is *inconsistent* with the other series. The next material distinction of persons or divinities in this religion is into Exoteric or Pouranika Buddhas and Esoteric or Tantrika. The first are those ordinarily so called and alone heretofore known to us. The second are more specially styled Yogambara and Digambara: they form the link of connexion between Jainism and Buddhism; and their statues or images are distinguished either by nudity or by a multiplicity of members: they are wholly unknown to Europeans. I have already adverted to the general character of the Tantrika ritual. It is a strange and unintelligible adjunct of Buddhism, though vouched by numerous scriptural authorities.

The images of the five Dhyáni Buddhas, which have been forwarded to the Society, occupy (and exclusively of all lower Buddhas) the base of every Mahachaitya,† or highest order of temples in Nepaul; and those images are invariably distinguished by the

(1) Manasa. (2) Dharana. (3) Dharma.

* E grege the Sarva Dharma Mahasanti, said by Mr. De Coros to be the bible of the '*oldest* Buddhist sect in Tibet.' For authorities for Adi Buddha and the six Celestial Buddhas, see Quotations in Proof, 1837.

† Temple and monastery are the respective equivalents of Chaitya and of Vihar.

respective differences exhibited in the specimens transmitted, viz. the position of the hands; the nature of the supporters and the particular cognizance or mudra of each, which is placed between the supporters. Vairo Chana is seldom figured: the other four celestial Buddhas occupy shallow niches at the base of the hemisphere of the Chaitya, one opposite each cardinal point.

The Chaitya would appear to be the only *exclusively* Buddhist form of temple. It consists of a solid hemisphere, commonly surmounted by a graduated cone or tetragonal pyramid, the grades (of the cone or pyramid) being 13, typical of the 13 highest heavens of Buddhist cosmography. Between the hemisphere and the cone or pyramid is a short square basement for the latter, upon each of the four sides of which a pair of eyes is graved. The hemisphere is called the garbh; the basement, toran; and the cone or pyramid, chura mani. The Nepaulese are sufficiently familiar with Chaityas in the sense of tomb temples or mausolea or covers of relics (Dehgopa): but all their *principal* edifices of this nature are dedicated to the self-existent, first, supreme Buddha, and to his five celestial œons. Chaityas are frequently combined with small hollow temples, of which they form the superstructure: besides which many sacred edifices of Hindoo form are used by the Buddhists for enshrining their mortal Buddhas, as well as any of the numberless Gods and Goddesses of their ample Pantheon. The followers of Buddha are divided into regular and secular—a division exactly equivalent to the Grihastha Asram and Vairagi or Sunnyasi Asram of the Hindoos—but *not* equivalent to Laics and Clerics. The regulars are all monastic, as solitaries or as cœnobites, living in deserts or in monasteries (Vihar). Their collective name is Bandya (person entitled to reverence); and they are divided into four orders, called Bhikshu or mendicants, Srávaka or readers, Chailaka or the scantly robed, and Arhata or Arhanta or Adepts. They are all ascetics, and constitute the *congregation* of the *faithful*, or only *real* Buddhists; the seculars having always been regarded as little better than heretics, until political ambition began to qualify the high-toned enthusiasm of the primitive saints; and until very many having come in who could not all live in idleness,

these were allowed to follow the various business of the world, their instruction being provided for by the Monks, some of whom thus became invested with a partially clerical character which they exercised under the names of Achárya and Vajra Achárya or teacher and powerful teacher.

The following list of Buddhas completes all I have at present to offer on the subject. Two lists were prepared for me, some time ago, by an old Bauddha of Nepaul, with whom I have long cultivated an acquaintance; but they were then laid aside for future examination and explanation when opportunity should serve.

I have accordingly had them compared, under my own eyes, with the scriptures whence they were extracted, and the comparison has suggested the following brief elucidatory remarks.

In the first place, the lesser list has proved to be superfluous, all its names being contained in the larger one. In the next place, the whole number of Buddhas in the greater catalogue has been found to amount to one hundred and thirty-one, and not to one hundred and forty-five, as stated elsewhere; the same name being repeated, in some instances, two and three times, by reason of this catalogue consisting of literal extracts from several independent works. And I have thought it better to leave it in statu quo, than to omit sundry names of one series because they occur in another. Such omission might have interfered with some established contiguity of time, place, or circumstances, in regard to the Buddhas, with which we are not acquainted; and with respect to the repetitions, they may be seen in the list, at a glance, by the references attached to them. There is one deviation from the catalogues as found in the works whence they are drawn, and it is this. After the names of the six great Mánushi Buddhas (No. 50 to 56) the name of Sákya Sinha, the seventh and last, is given in my list, though not found at that place in the Lalita Vistara: possibly because Sákya had not, when that work was compiled, become Nirván, and a Tathágata in the proper sense. His name, though occurring before, is, notwithstanding, reinserted in my catalogue in that place, in order to make up the complement of the now famous 'Sapta Buddha Mánushi,' or seven

mortal Buddhas. Before each distinct series of names, the work from which it is derived, is uniformly noted.

In the works cited, many more names, besides those given in the catalogue, are to be found, and from the whole of the books which have been procured and transmitted to Calcutta, hundreds of new names might be drawn.

In the Samadhi Raja,* Sarvarthasiddha (Sákya, before he became a Buddha,) is asked by Maitreya and Vajra Pani, how he acquired Samadhi Jnyán. In reply, he begins by naming one hundred and twenty Tathágatas, who instructed him therein in his former births; and at the conclusion of his enumeration of Buddhas, Sárvartha Siddha observes, 'he has given so many names exempli gratia, but that his instructors were really no less in number than eighty crores!' There is a verse in the Aparimita Dharani (to be found in many other, and higher, authorities) purporting that "the Buddhas who have been, are, and will be, are more numerous than the grains of sand on the banks of the Ganges." Some of these Buddhas sprang, divinely not generatively, from other Buddhas; some from Akás, and some from the Lotos. These are evident nonentities, in regard to chronology and history. Yet it is often most difficult to distinguish them from their more substantial compeers, the origin of the latter having been frequently traced up to heaven by the vanity of superstition, while its grovelling genius no less frequently drew down the lineage of the former to earth. Again, among the Buddhas confessedly of mortal mould, there are three wide degrees, that of the Pratyéka Buddha, that of the Srávaka Buddha, and that of the Maha Yánika Buddha. But the two former are regarded, even by their worshippers, as little more than mere men of superior sanctity; and as infinitely inferior to the Maha Yánika Buddhas, such as Sákya and his six great predecessors. We have, however, multitudes even of this highest degree; and besides, the title belongs, not only to the supreme Mánushi Tathágatas, but also to

* I have this list before me extracted from the Samadhi Raja; but I do not think it worth while to add it to the lists already given.

all the Dhyánis indiscriminately. Upon the whole, then, it seems peculiarly desirable, in the present state of our information, to keep a steady eye upon the authoritative assertion of the old scriptures, that Sákya is the *seventh*, and *last* of the Buddhas.

It is very worthy of remark, too, that, according to these scriptures, the duration of these seven Buddhas fills the whole extent of time; the two first being assigned to the Satya Yuga; the two second to the Tréta; the two third to the Dwápara; and Sákya and the Buddha yet to come, being the declared Lords of the Kali or present Yuga. It will hardly, I imagine, be considered an answer to this difficulty to observe, that the Chronology of the Buddhists supposes an eternal world and confounds time and eternity.

It has frequently occurred to me to doubt the historical existence of Sákya's six predecessors; for I have not failed to remark that, while the Buddhist writings make ample mention of Sákya's births, sayings, and doings, and while they ascribe to him, the effectual authorship of *all* the scriptural authorities of the sect, these writings are nearly silent with respect to the origin and actions of the six Buddhas who went before him: nor are any doctrines or dogmas referred to them in the authorities in question. To go farther into this matter would lead me beyond the bounds I have prescribed to myself on the present occasion. What I have said will suffice to shew why the catalogue of Buddhas has been so long withheld, and perhaps would justify the withholding of it still.

*List of Tathágatas compiled from the Lalita Vistára, Kriya Sangraha and Rakshá Bhagavati.*

*Lalita Vistára, 1st Section.*

1 Padmottara.
2 Dharmaketu.
3 Dípankara.
4 Gunaketu.
5 Mahákara.
6 Rishideva.
7 Sríteja.
8 Satyaketu.

9 Vajrasanhata.
10 Sarvábhibhú.
11 Hemavarna.
12 Atyuchchagámí.
13 Praváraságara.
14 Pushpaketu.
15 Vararúpa.
16 Sulochana.
17 Rishigupta.
18 Jinavaktra.
19 Unnata.
20 Pushpita.
21 Urnátejá.
22 Pushkala.
23 Surasmí.
24 Mangala.
25 Sudarsana.
26 Mahasinhatejá.
27 Sthitabuddhidatta.
28 Vasantagandhi.
29 Satyadhermavipulakirttí.
30 Tishya.
31 Pushya.
32 Lokasundara.
33 Vistírnabheda.
34 Ratnakirtti.
35 Ugratejá.
36 Brahmatejá.
37 Sughosha.
38 Supushpa.
39 Sumanojnaghosha.
40 Sucheshtárúpa.
41 Prahasitanetra.
42 Gunarásí.
43 Meghaswara.
44 Sundaraverna.
45 Ayusteja.
46 Salilagajagámí.
47 Lokábhiláshita.
48 Jitasatru.
49 Sampújita.
50 Vipasyí.
51 Sikhí.
52 Viswabhú.
53 Kakutsanda.
54 Kanakamuni.
55 Kásyapa.
56 Sákyamuni.

*Lalita Vistára,* 13*th Section.*

57— 1 Amoghadársí.
58— 2 Vairochana.
59— 3 Dundubhiswara.
60— 4 Dharmeswara.
61— 5 Samantadarsí.
62— 6 Mahárchiskandhi.
63— 7 Dharmadhwaja.
64— 8 Jnánaketu.
65— 9 Retnasikhi.
66—10 Padmayoni.
67—11 Sarvábhibhú. (See No. 10.)
68—12 Ságara.
69—13 Padmagarbha.
70—14 Sálendraraja.
71—15 Pushpita. (See No. 20.)
72—16 Yásodatta.
73—17 Jnánameru.
74—18 Satyadarsi.
75—19 Nágadatta.

76—20 Atyuchchagámí. (See No. 12.)
77—21 Maháviyúha.
78—22 Rasmíráj.
79—23 Sákyamuni. (See No. 56.)
80—24 Indraketu.
81—25 Súryánana.
82—26 Sumatí.
83—27 Nágábhibhú.
84—28 Bhaishajyaráj.
85—29 Sinhaketu.
86—30 Gunágradhárí.
87—31 Kasyapa. (See No. 55.)
88—32 Archihketu.
89—33 Akshobhyaráj.
90—34 Tagarasikhí.
91—35 Sarvagandhi.
92—36 Mahápradípa.
93—37 Padmottara. (See No. 1.)
94—38 Dhermaketu. (See No. 2.)

*Lalita Vistára, 20th Section.*

95— 1 Vimalaprabhása.
96— 2 Retnárchi.
97— 3 Pushpávalivanarájikusumitá-bhijna.
98— 4 Chandrasurya jihmíkaraprabha.
99— 5 Gunarájaprabhása.
100— 6 Retnayashti.
101— 7 Meghakútábhi-garjitaswara.
102— 8 Retnachhatrá-bhyudgatáva-bhása.
103— 9 Samantadersí.
104—10 Ganendra.

*Kriyá Sangraha.*

105— 1 Vairochana.* (See No. 58.)
106— 2 Mahoshnísha.
107— 3 Sitátapatro-shnísha.
108— 4 Tejorási.
109— 5 Vijayoshnísha.
110— 6 Vikiranoshnísha.
111— 7 Udgatoshnísha.
112— 8 Mahodgatoshnísha.
113— 9 Vijayoshnisha. (See No. 163.)
114—10 Akshobhya. (See No. 85.)
115—11 Vajrasatwa.
116—12 Vajrarája.
117—13 Vajrarága.
118—14 Vajrasádhu.
119—15 Retnasambhava.

* This name, although a repetition, is numbered; because the personage here indicated by the name *Vairochan*, is really *Vairochan Avatar*, *Manjusri*. The five celestial *Buddhas* of *Nepaul* will be recognised in this list; but commenting were endless.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 120—16 | Vajraretna. | 127—23 | Vajraketu. |
| 121—17 | Vajrasúrya. | 128—24 | Vajrabhásha. |
| 122—18 | Vajraketu. | 129—25 | Amoghasiddha. |
| 123—19 | Vajrahása. | 130—26 | Vajrakerma. |
| 124—20 | Amitábha. | 131—27 | Vajraraksha. |
| 125—21 | Vajradherma. | 132—28 | Vajrayaksha. |
| 126—22 | Vajratíkshna. | 133—29 | Vajrasandhi. |

*Rakshá Bhagavatí.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 134— 1 | Retnakara. | 139— 6 | Suryamandala-prabhásottama. |
| 135— 2 | Asokasrí. | 140— 7 | Ekachhatra. |
| 136— 3 | Retnárchí. (See No. 90.) | 141— 8 | Samádhihasty-uttarasrí. |
| 137— 4 | Jayendra. | 142— 9 | Padmasrí. |
| 138— 5 | Padmottarasrí. (See No. 1.) | 143—10 | Nandasrí. |

---

## No. II.

### SKETCH OF BUDDHISM, DERIVED FROM THE BAUDDHA SCRIPTURES OF NEPAUL.

(Printed from the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii.)

*Extract of a letter from Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq. to Dr. Nathaniel Wallich.*

Nepaul, 11th of August, 1827.

Soon after my arrival in Nepaul (now six years ago), I began to devise means of procuring some accurate information relative to Buddhism: for, though the regular investigation of such a subject was foreign to my pursuits, my respect for science in general led me cheerfully to avail myself of the opportunity afforded, by my residence in a Bauddha country, for collecting and transmitting to Calcutta the materials for such investigation. There were, however, serious obstacles in my way, arising out of the jealousy of the people in regard to any profanation of their sacred things by an European, and yet more, resulting

from the Chinese notions of policy adopted by this Government. I nevertheless persevered; and time, patience, and dexterous applications to the superior intelligence of the chief minister, at length rewarded my toils.

My first object was to ascertain the existence or otherwise of Bauddha Scriptures in Nepaul; and to this end I privately instituted inquiries in various directions, in the course of which the reputation for knowledge of an old Bauddha residing in the city of Pátan, drew one of my people to his abode. This old man assured me that Nepaul contained many large works relating to Buddhism; and of some of these he gave me a list. Subsequently, when better acquainted, he volunteered to procure me copies of them. His list gradually enlarged as his confidence increased; and at length, chiefly through his kindness, and his influence with his brethren in the *Bauddha* faith, I was enabled to procure and transmit to Calcutta a large collection of important *Bauddha* scriptures.

Meanwhile, as the *Pátan Bauddha* seemed very intelligent, and my curiosity was excited, I proposed to him (about four years ago) a set of questions, which I desired he would answer from his books. He did so; and these questions and answers form the text of the paper which I herewith forward. The reason why I have so long kept it to myself, is, that with the lapse of time my opportunities for obtaining information increased; and I at length persuaded the sensible minister of this state to permit my old friend to visit me. Having in his answers quoted sundry *slôkas* in proof of his statements; and many of the scriptures whence these were taken being now in my possession, I was tempted to try the truth of his quotations. Of that, my research gave me in general satisfactory proof. But the possession of the books led to questions respecting their relative age and authority; and, tried by this test, the *Bauddha's* quotations were not always so satisfactory. Thus one step led to another, until I conceived the idea of drawing up, with the aid of my old friend and his books, a sketch of the terminology and general disposition of the external parts of Buddhism, in the belief

that such a sketch, though but imperfectly executed, would be of some assistance to such of my countrymen as, with the books only before them, might be disposed to enter into a full and accurate investigation of this almost unknown subject.

When, however, I conceived that design, I little suspected where it would lead me; I began ere long to feel my want of languages, and (to confess the truth) of patience, and almost looked back with a sigh to the tolerably full and tolerably accurate account of Buddhism which I had obtained so long ago, and with little comparative labour, from my old friend's answers to my queries. I also saw certain notices of Buddhism coming from time to time before the world, ushered by the talents and industry of Klaproth and Remusat; and, so far as I had opportunity to learn what these notices contained, it seemed that the answers to my questions furnished much ampler and more accurate views of the subject than these distinguished men could extract from their limited sources of information.

These considerations have induced me to present, without further delay, the accompanying paper to Mr. Colebrooke, to whose sound knowledge if it be first submitted, there can be no danger of the publication being made without sufficient warrant for its usefulness. Whether or not I shall persevere in the undertaking before hinted at, I can hardly venture to say; but from the larger information latterly collected by me with a view to its completion, I have drawn some notes in correction or enlargement of the paper now transmitted, and have placed them on its margin.

I add to this letter a very considerable list of the *Bauddha* scriptures in general, extracted for me from those still existing in Nepaul.

Of so many of those scriptures as I have procured and sent to Calcutta, I have furnished to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a meagre explanatory catalogue. Of the rest I can obtain here only the names; and, as it would be useless to repeat what has been already said of some of these books, I forward the present list, without further observation on it, than, that its accuracy may be relied on, and that its contents are so far from being lo-

cal to Nepaul, that the largest portion of the books neither are, nor ever were procurable in this valley.

The *Bauddhas* were used, in old time, to insert at the end of any particular work, lists of the names of many of their sacred writings; and to this usage of theirs am I indebted for the large catalogue which I have obtained.

### LIST OF SUNGSKRIT BAUDDHA WORKS.

#### 1. *Puranas or Exoteric Works.*

1 Satasahasrika Prajna Paramita.
2 Pancha Vingsati Sahasrika Prajna Paramita.
3 Ashta Dasa Sahasrika Prajna Paramita.
4 Ashta Sahasrika Prajna Paramita.
5 Sapta Sati Prajna Paramita.
6 Prajna Paramita Vyakhya.
7 Ganda Vyuha. .............. Bhadrachari.
8 Dasa Bhumeswára.
9 Samadhi Raja.
10 Lankavatara.
11 Saddharma Púndarika. ...... Bhadrachari.
12 Lallita Vistara.
13 Tathágata Guhyaka, or Guhya Samadhi.
14 Súvarna Prabhasa.
15 Mahavastúavadán. ............ Samajataka. Kinnarijataka. Dipangkarvastú. Birkúsavadán.
16 Divyavadán. .................. Sardúlakarnavadán.
17 Satakávadán. .................. Opakhádhavadán. Barikavadán. Rastra Palavadán.
18 Bhadrakalpavadán. ......... Birkusavadán. Kinnarijataka.
19 Asókávadán. .................. Bodhi Charya Vatár. Sapta Kúmarikavadán. Dúrgati Parishódhana. Ahoratri vrata. Kartika Máhatmá. Chaitya Púngava.

20 Bíchitra Kárnikávadán.
21 Dwávingstyavadán.
22 Ratnamalávadán, or
Ratnavadán. .................. Suchandravadán.
23 Avadán Kalpalata.
24 Súgatavadán.
25 Dharma Kósha.
26 Dharma Sangrahá.
27 Vinaya Sútra.
28 Maha Yána Sútra.
29 Maha Yána Sútralangkára.
30 Gosringá Vyakhána.
31 Salachakratavadán.
32 Játakavadán.
33 Jataka Mála. .................. Visswantarjataka.
34 Maha Jataka Mála.
35 Swayambhu Púrana Salpa.
36 Swayambhu Púrana Mahata.
37 Swayambhu Púrana Madhama.
38 Swayambhu Púrana. ......... Manichúravadán.
39 Káranda Vyúha.
40 Gunakaranda Vyúha.
41 Súkhávati Vyúha.
42 Karuna Púndarika.
43 Lálitya Vistara, or
Tathágata Janamavadán.
44 Loukika Lañkavatar.
45 Chaitya Máhátma.
46 Kalpadrumávadán. ......... Kavikumaravadán.
Upókhadhavadán.
47 Dharma Cosha Vyákhya.
48 Avadán Sarsammuchaya. ... Sumagadhavadán.
Sahakópdesavadán.
Kapisavadán.
Kathinavadan.
Pindápátravadán.

49 Vratávadán Malá. ......... Nandimukha.
Sughoshavadán.
Dhimatyavadán.
Sringabhérí, &c.

50 Anúmán khanda.
51 Adikármá pradipa.
52 Shádhana yúga Tippáni.
53 Manjú Sri Párajiká.
54 Vajra Satwa Párajiká.
55 Lókeswara Párajiká.
56 Chhándó Mrittúlata.
57 Subarnavarnavadán.
58 Tara Satanama.
59 Buddha Siksha Sammúchaya.
60 Pancha Raksha.
61 Buddhokta Sansâramaya.
62 Laksha Chaitya Vratanúsansa.
63 Prati Moksha Sútra.
64 Vajra Súchi.
65 Búddha Charita Kavya.
66 Gautama Kavya.
67 Púnaya Pratsáha Kavya.
68 Lokeswura Sataka Kavya.
69 Sragadhara Kavya.
70 Bidagdha Mukhamándána Kavya.

2. *Tantras or Esoteric Works.*

71 Paramódya Maha yúga Tantra.
72 Paramártha Séva Tantra.
73 Pindi Krama Tantra.
74 Sumpútodbhava Tantra.
75 Hevajra Tantra.
76 Búddha Kapála Tantra.
77 Sambara Tantra, or Sambaródya.
78 Barahi Tantra, or Barahi Kalpa.
79 Yogambara Tantra.

80 Dákini Jála Tantra.
81 Súkla Yamári Tantra.
82 Krishna Yamári Tantra.
83 Pita Yamári Tantra.
84 Rakta Yamári Tantra.
85 Syama Yamári Tantra.
86 Kriya Sangraha Tantra.
87 Kriya Kand Tantra.
88 Kriya Sagara Tantra.
89 Kriya Kalpa Druma Tantra.
90 Kriyarnaba Tantra.
91 Abhidhánóttara Tantra.
92 Kriya Samúchya Tantra.
93 Sádhana Mála Tantra.
94 Sádhana Samúchya Tantra.
95 Sádhana Sangraha Tantra.
96 Sádhana Ratna Tantra.
97 Sádhana Pariksha Tantra.
98 Sádhana Kalpalata Tantra.
99 Tatwá Jnana Siddhi Tantra.
100 Jnana Siddhi Tantra.
101 Guhya Siddhi Tantra.
102 Udiyán Tantra.
103 Nagárjuna Tantra.
104 Yogpithá Tantra.
105 Pithávátar Tantra.
106 Kalavir Tantra, or Chanda Rókhuna.
107 Maha Kala Tantra.
108 Vajravira Tantra.
109 Vajra Satwa Tantra.
110 Marichi Tantra.
111 Tara Tantra.
112 Vajradhatú Tantra.
113 Vimalaprabha Tantra.
114 Manikarnika Tantra.
115 Trilókyavijaya Tantra.

116 Sampúta Tantra.
117 Marma Kalika Tantra.
118 Kúrú Kúlla Tantra.
119 Bhúta Dámara Tantra.
120 Kála Chakra Tantra.
121 Yogini Tantra.
122 Yogini Sanchára Tantra.
123 Yogini Jála Tantra.
124 Yogambarapith Tantra.
125 Uddamara Tantra.
126 Basundhara Sádhan Tantra.
127 Nairatma Tantra.
128 Dákarnava Tantra.
129 Kriya Sára Tantra.
130 Yamantaka Tantra.
131 Manju Sri Kalpa Tantra.
132 Tantra Samúchya Tantra.
133 Kriya Vatansa Tantra.
134 Tantra Sloka Sangraha.
135 Hayagriva Tantra.
136 Kangkirná Tantra.
137 Namsangiti Vyakhya Tantra.
138 Amrita Karnika náma Sangiti Tika.
139 Gudhopada náma Sangiti Tika.
140 Maya jála Tantra.
141 Jnánodaya Tantra.
142 Basanta Tilaka Tantra.
143 Nispanna Yogambara Tantra.
144 Dharani Sangraha. { Puncha Buddha Dharani—Pratingira Dharani. Saptabara Dharani, with hundreds more, the work being a collection of them all.

N. B. Names on the *right* are portions of the work, written opposite them on the left; priorly they had been treated as separate works.

The whole of the above are classed under the two important heads of Exoteric and Esoteric, the subdivisions not being not-

ed. This list has been corrected since the paper to which it was originally attached was written.

---

*Extract of a letter from Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq. to Dr. Nathaniel Wallich.*

Nepaul, 17th October, 1827.

In a clever paper in the first and second numbers of the Calcutta Quarterly Oriental Magazine, (Review of the Bombay Literary Transactions), it is said that one of the distinctions between Jainism and Buddhism is, that the *Jaina* statues are all naked, and the *Bauddha* statues all clothed. The pictures now sent you are proofs that this notion is false. You see too that my *Bauddha* images are called *Digambara*, a name heretofore fancied to be peculiar to Jainism; this is another error, and were this the place for dissertation, I could bring forward many other presumptions in favour of the notion that the *Jainas* are sectarian *Bauddhas*, who dissented from their *Bauddha* brethren merely in carrying to a gross excess, and in promulgating publicly, certain dangerous dogmas, which the more prudent Buddhists chose to keep veiled from all but the initiated. The Nepaul Buddhists are very jealous of any intrusion into their esoteric dogmas and symbols; so much so, that though I have been for seven years enquiring after these things, my old *Vajra Achárya* friend only recently gave me a peep at the esoteric dogmas; and my *Chitrakár*, (*Bauddha* though he be,) has only within these last twelve months brought me some esoteric pictures: nor probably should I have got at these secret things at all, if I had not been able to examine the *Bauddha* books, in some small degree, myself; and if a *Bhótiya* had not put into my hands a picture containing one of these naked saints. With these decisive means of questioning in my power, I at last got my *Bauddha* assistants to draw up the veil of the sanctuary, to bring me copies of the naked saints, and to tell me a little of the naked doctrines.

*Extract of a letter from Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq. to Dr. Nathaniel Wallich.*

Nepaul, 1st November, 1827.

I cannot just now go into a description of the significance of all the details of the sculptures which I have sent. Suffice it to say, that every part of each image is significant; and that the differences between the five are marked, first, by the different position of the hands (which is called the *múdra*); secondly, by the variety of the supporters; thirdly, by the variety of the cognizances placed between the supporters; and fourthly (where painting and colours are used), by difference of colour. *Vairóchana's* appropriate colour is white; *Akshóbhya's*, blue; *Ratna-Sambhava's*, yellow, or golden; *Amitábha's* red; and *Amogha-Siddha's*, green.

---

*Extract of a letter from Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq. to Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq. Dir. R. A. S.*

I beg to present you with the accompanying sketch of Buddhism. There are a few matters connected with it, which it may be advisable to state to you; and in the first rank stands the authority upon which I have assigned the meaning of intellectual essence to the word *Buddha*, and that of material essence to the word *Dharma*. The *Bauddhas* define the words thus: '*Bódhan átmaká iti Buddha; Dháran átmaká iti Dharma.*' About the former of these definitions there can be no difficulty; there may concerning the latter. To the word *Dárana*, or holding, containing, sustaining (from the root *dhrĭ*), I have assigned a material sense; first, because it is opposed to *bódhana;* secondly, because the goddess Dharma, the *pravrĭttika* personification of this principle, is often styled, in the most authentic books, '*Prakrĭtéswarí*,' the material goddess, or goddess of matter; and thirdly, because this goddess is, (under the names Dharma, Prajnya, Arya Tara, &c.) in very many passages of old *Bauddha* works, described as the material cause of all things; conformably, indeed, with that bias towards materialism, which our heretofore scanty knowledge of Buddhism has led us to assign to the *Saugata* faith.

*Sanga*, the third member of the Triad, belongs not to the exalted state of *nirvritti*, in which no sect of *Bauddhas* admits more than two principles of all things, or matter and mind, *Buddha* and *Dharma*. *Sanga* is defined '*Samúdayi átmaká iti Sangya*,' the multitudinous essence; because multitude is held to be as strong a characteristic of *pravritti*, or the palpable world, as unity is of the world of *nirvritti*, or abstraction.

In note 31, I have distinctly rejected the fifth order of *Bandyas*, or *Vajra Acháryas*, in opposition to my old *Bauddha* friend's statement in the text of the Sketch. There can be no doubt that my friend is mistaken: for in many high authorities, the four original and true orders of *Bandyas* are called by the collective name of the '*Chatúr Varna*,' and are therein described without mention of the *Vajra Acháryas*. It may serve to explain my friend's statement, to tell you that he is himself a *Vajra Achárya*; and that as the genuine monachism of Buddhism has long since passed away in Nepaul, sundry local books have been composed here by *Vajra Acháryas*, in which they have made their own modern order coequal with the four ancient orders; and my old friend would hold these modern Nepaul books sufficient warrant for the rank ascribed to *his own class*. I have lately spoken to him on this subject, and he has confessed that there is no *old* authority for his fifth order of *Bandyas*. In my note I have endeavoured carefully to separate Buddhism *as it is* (in Nepaul) and Buddhism *as it ought to be*, *quoad* this point of classification. If you look into Kirkpatrick's and Buchanan's works on Nepaul, you will see how they have been puzzled with the difference of things as they are from what they ought to be, in those casual and erroneous hints which they have afforded on the subject of Buddhism.

In note 15, I have stated that the *Kármikas* and *Yátnakas* entertained tolerably just views on the grand subject of free-will and necessity; and I believe I am therein essentially correct: for how otherwise are we to understand their confession of faith, 'the actions of a man's prior births are his destiny?' Exclude the metempsychosis, which is the vehicle of the sense of this passage, and we have our old adage, 'Conduct is fate:' a law of freedom surely.

Still, were I cross-examined, I might be forced to confess, that the ideas which the *Kármikas* and *Yátnakas* entertain of free-will, seem to resemble rather the qualifications of our Collins and Edwards, than the full and absolute freedom of Clarke and the best European philosophers.

The *Kármikas* and *Yátnakas* seem to have been impressed with the *fact* of man's free-will, but to have been perplexed in reconciling such a notion with the general spirit and tendency of the old *Swabhávica* philosophy. But in the result, the *Kármikas* and *Yátnakas* seem to have adhered to free-will, though perhaps in the qualified sense above mentioned.

---

## SKETCH OF BUDDHISM.

### *Question* I.

How and when was the world created?

*Answer.*

According to the *Sámbhú Purána*, in the beginning all was void (*súnya*). The first light that was manifest was the word *Aum;* and from this *Aum* the alphabet was produced—called *Mahá Varna*, the letters of which are the seeds of the universe. (See note 1.) In the *Guna Káranda Vyúha* it is written, when nothing else was, SAMBHU was; that is the self-existent (*Swayambhú*); and as he was before all, he is also called A'DI-BUDDHA. He wished from one to become many, which desire is denominated *Prajnya*. BUDDHA and PRAJNYA united became PRAJNYA UPAYA, as SIVA SAKTI, or BRAHMA MAYA. (See note 2.) In the instant of conceiving this desire, five forms or beings were produced, called the five BUDDHAS (see note 3), whose names are as follows: VAIROCHANA, AKSHOBHYA, RATNA-SAMBHAVA, AMITABHA, AMOGHA-SIDDHA. Each of these BUDDHAS, again, produced from himself, by means of *Dhyán*, another being called his *Bódhi-Satwa*, or son. VAIROCHANA produced SAMANT-BHADRA; AKSHOBHYA, VAJRA-PANI; RATNA-SAMBHAVA, RATNA-PANI; AMITABHA, PADMA-PANI; and AMOGHA-SIDDHA, VISWA-PANI.

Of these five *Bódhi-Satwas*, four are engrossed with the worship of SAMBHU (*Swayambhú*), and nothing more is known of them than their names; the fifth, PADMA-PANI, was engaged, by SAMBHU's command, in creation (see note 4); and having, by the efficacy of SAMBHU's *Dhyán*, assumed the virtues of the three *Gunas*, he created BRAHMA, VISHNU, and MAHESA, and delegated to them respectively, creation, preservation, and destruction. Accordingly, by PADMA-PANI's commands, BRAHMA set about creating all things; and the *Chatúr-yóni* (or oviparous, viviparous, &c.*) came into existence by BRAHMA. The creation of BRAHMA, VISHNU, and MAHESA by PADMA-PANI, is confirmed by the *sloca* (see note 5), the meaning of which is, KAMALI (PADMA-PANI,) produced BRAHMA for creating, VISHNU for preserving, and MAHESA for destroying. And the creation of BRAHMA is six-sorted, viz. *Déva*, *Daitya*, *Mánusha*, &c.; and, for the *Dévas*, BRAHMA made heaven; and for the *Daityas*, *Pátála*; and the four remaining kinds he placed between these two regions and upon the earth.

With respect to the mansions (*Bhuvanas*) of the universe, it is related, that the highest is called *Agnishtha Bhuvana*; and this is the abode of A'DI-BUDDHA. And below it, according to some accounts, there are ten; and according to others, thirteen *Bhuvanas* (see note 6); named, *Pramóditá*, *Vimalá*, *Prabhákarí*, *Archishmatí*, *Sudúrjayá*, *Abhimukhi*, *Dúrangamá*, *Achalá*, *Sádhúmatí*, *Dharma-mégha* (x), *Samant-prabhá*, *Nirúpamá*, *Jnyánavatí* (xiii). These thirteen *Bhuvanas* are the work of A'DI-BUDDHA: they are the *Bódhi-Satwa Bhuvanas*; and whoever is a faithful follower of BUDDHA will be translated to one of these mansions after death.

Below the thirteen *Bódhi-Satwa Bhuvanas* are eighteen *Bhuvanas*, called collectively *Rúpya Vachara*. These are subject to BRAHMA, and are named individually: *Brahma-káyiká*, *Brahma-púróhitá*, *Brahma-prasháдyá*, *Mahá Brahmaná*, *Paritábhá*, *Apramánábhá*, *Abháswará*, *Parita-subhá*, *Subhá-kishná*, *Anabhraká*, *Púnya-prasavá*, *Vrihat-phúlá*, *Arangi-satwá*, *Avríhá*, *Apáyá*, *Sudrishá*, *Sudarsaná*, and *Sumúkhá*. Pious worshippers of BRAHMA shall go to one of these eighteen *Bhuvanas* after death.

* By et cætera *always* understand *more Brahmanorum.*

And below the eighteen mansions of BRAHMA, are six others subject to VISHNU, called collectively *Káma-Vachará*, and separately as follows: *Chatúr-Mahá-rája-Káyiká, Trayastrinsá, Túshíta, Yamá, Nirmánavati, Paranirmitá-Vasávarti.* And whosoever worships VISHNU with pure heart shall go to one of these.

And below the six *Bhuvanas* of VISHNU are the three *Bhuvanas* of MAHA-DEVA, called generally *A'rúpya-Vachará*, and particularly as follows: *Abhógá-Nitya-yatnópagá, Vijnyá-yatnópagá, Akinchanya-yatnópagá*, and these are the heavens designed for pious *Siva-Márgis.* Below the mansions enumerated, are *Indra Bhuvana, Yama Bhuvana, Sûrya Bhuvana*, and *Chandra Bhuvana;* together with the mansions of the fixed stars, of the planets, and various others which occupy the space down to the *Agni Bhuvana*, also called *Agni-kúnd.* And below *Agni-kúnd* is *Vayu-kúnd;* and below *Vayu-kúnd* is *Prĭthví*, or the earth; and on the earth are seven *Dwipas, Jambu Dwipa*, &c.; and seven *Ságaras* or seas, and eight *Parvatas* or mountains (see note 7), *Suméru Parvata*, &c. And below *Prĭthví* is *Jala-kúnd*, or the world of waters; and the earth is on the waters as a boat. And below the *Jala-kúnd* are seven *Pátálas*, as *Dharani*, &c.: six of them are the abodes of the *Daityas;* and the seventh is *Naraka*, consisting of eight separate abodes: and these eight compose the hell of sinners: and from the eighteen *Bhuvanas* of BRAHMA down to the eight chambers of *Naraka*, all is the work of MANJUSRI. MANJUSRI is by the *Bauddhas* esteemed the great architect, who constructs the mansions of the world by A'DI-BUDDHA's command, as PADMA-PANI, by his command, creates all animate things.

Thus MANJUSRI (see note 8) is the VISVA-KARMA of the *Bauddhas;* and is also the author of the sixty-four *Vidyás.*

*Question* II.

What was the origin of mankind?

*Answer.*

It is written in the narrative portion of our *Tantras*, that originally the earth was uninhabited. In those times the inhabitants of *Abháswará Bhuvana* (which is one of the *Bhuvanas* of BRAHMA)

used frequently to visit the earth, and thence speedily to return to *Abháswará*. It happened at length, that, when a few of these beings, who, though half males and half females, had never yet, from the purity of their minds, conceived the sexual desire, or even noticed their distinction of sex, came, as usual, to the earth, A'DI-BUDDHA suddenly created in them so violent a longing to eat, that they ate some of the earth, which had the taste of almonds, and by eating it they lost their power of flying back to their *Bhuvana*, and so they remained on the earth. They were now constrained to eat the fruits of the earth for sustenance; and from eating these fruits they conceived the sexual desire, and began to associate together: and from that time, and in that manner, the origin of mankind commenced from the union of the sexes. (See note 9.)

When the beings above-mentioned came last from *Abháswará* MAHA SAMVAT was their leader, and he was the first king of the whole earth.

In another *Tantra* it is written, that A'DI-BUDDHA is the immediate creator of all things in heaven and earth.

With respect to time we conceive the *Satya-yuga* to be the beginning of time, and the *Kali-yuga* the end of it: and the duration of the four *yugas*, the particulars of which are found in the Brahmanical scriptures, have no place in our's: in which it is merely written that there *are* four *yugas;* and that in the first, men lived 80,000 years; in the second, 10,000; in the third 1,000: and the fourth is divided into four periods; in the first of which, men will live 100 years; in the second, fifty years; in the third, twenty-five years; and in the fourth, when the close of the *Kali-yuga* is approaching, seven years only; and their stature will be only the height of the thumb; and then all things will be destroyed, and A'DI-BUDDHA alone remain: and this period of four *yugas* is a *Pralaya*. A'DI-BUDDHA will then again create the four *yugas*, and all things else to live in their duration, which when completed, all things will be again destroyed, and thus there will be seventy-one *pralayas*, or completions of the four *yugas*, when *Maha Pralaya* will arrive. How many revolutions of the four *yugas*

(*i. e.* how many *pralayas*) have now passed, and how many remain to revolve, is nowhere written.

### *Question* III.

What is matter, and what spirit?

*Answer.*

Body (see note 10), which is called *Sarira* and *Déha*, was produced from the five elements; and soul, which is called *prána* and *jiva*, is a particle of the essence of A'DI-BUDDHA. Body, as created out of the elements, perisheth: soul, as a particle of the divine spirit, perisheth not; body is subject to changes—to be fat and lean, &c.; soul is unchangeable. Body is different in all animals; soul is alike in all, whether in man or any other creature. But men have, besides *prána*, the faculty of speech, which other animals have not; according to the *sloca*, of which the meaning is this: "*Déha* is derived from the five *Bhútas*, and *Jíva* from the *Angas* of *Swayambhú.*" (See note 11.)

### *Question* IV.

Is matter an independent existence, or derived from God?

*Answer.*

Body, according to some, depends upon the inhaling and exhaling of the *Prána-Váyu;* and this inhalation and exhalation of the breath is by virtue of the soul (*prána*), which virtue, according to some, is derived from God, and according to others (see note 12), is inherent in itself: there is much diversity of opinion on this subject. Some of the *Buddha-márgis* contend that *déha* (the body) is *Swabhávaka; i. e.* from the copulation of males and females, new bodies proceed; and they ask who makes the eyes, the flesh, the limbs, &c. of the fœtus in the mother's womb? *Swabháva!* And the thorns of the desert, who points them? *Swabháva!* And the timidity of the deer kind, and the fury of the ravenous beasts, whence are they? from *Swabháva!*

And this is a specimen of their reasoning and proofs, according to a *sloca* of the *Buddha-Charita-Kavya.* (See note 13.) Some again say, that *déha* and *sansára* are *Aishwarika* (see note 14), *i. e.*

produced by Iswara, or A'di-Buddha, according to another *sloca*.

Some again call the world and the human body *Kármika*, *i. e.* that *Karma* is the cause of this existence of *déha* and *sansára;* and they liken the first *déha* to a field (*kshétra*), and works, to a seed. And they relate, that the first body which man received was created solely by A'di-Buddha; and at that time works affected it not: but when man put off his first body, the next body which he received was subject to *Karma*, or the works of the *first* body (see note 15); and so was the next, and all future ones, until he attained to *Múkti* and *Móksha:* and therefore they say, that whoever would be free from transmigration must pay his devotions to Buddha, and consecrate all his worldly goods to Buddha, nor ever after suffer such things to excite his desires. And, in the *Buddha-Charita-Kavya* it is written, that with respect to these points, Sakya expressed the following opinion: "Some persons say that *Sănsára* is *Swabhávaká*, some that it is *Kármiká*, and some that it is *Aiswariká* and *Atmaka;* for myself, I can tell you nothing of these matters. Do you address your meditation to Buddha; and when you have attained *Bódhijnyáná*, you will know the truth yourselves."

*Question* V.

What are the attributes of God?

*Answer.*

His distinctive attributes are many; one of which is, that he is *Panchjnyánátmaka* (see note 16), or, in his essence are five sorts of *jnyána*, possessed by him alone, and which are as follows: first, *Suvisuddha-Dharma-Dhátúja;* second, *Adarsanája;* third, *Pratyavékshanája;* fourth, *Samtája;* fifth, *Anúshthánaja*. The first created beings, Vairochana, &c. were in number five, owing to these five *jnyánas;* and in each of these five *Buddhas* is one of the *jnyánas*. Another of A'di-Buddha's attributes is the faculty of individualizing, and multiplying himself, and again individualizing himself at pleasure: another is, possessing the qualities of passion and clemency.

*Question* VI.

Is the pleasure of God derived from action or repose?

*Answer.*

There are two modes of considering this subject: first, according to *nirvritti;* and, secondly, according to *pravritti.*

*Nirvritti* (see note 17) is this: to know the world to be a mere semblance, unreal, and an illusion; and to know God to be one: and *Pravritti* is the opposite of this sublime science and is the practice and notions of ordinary men. Therefore, according to *nirvritti,* A'DI-BUDDHA is the author and creator of all things, without whom nothing can be done; whose care sustains the world and its inhabitants; and the moment he averts his face from them they became annihilated, and nothing remains but himself. But some persons, who profess *nirvritti,* contend that the world with all it containeth is distinct from A'DI-BUDDHA: yet the wise know this to be an error. (See note 18.)

A'DI-BUDDHA, though he comprehends all living things, is yet one. He is the soul, and they are but the limbs and outward members, of this monad. Such is *nirvritti,* which, being deeply studied, is found to be unity; but *pravritti,* which is multiplicity, may be distinguished in all things. And in this latter view of *pravritti,* A'DI-BUDDHA may be considered a king, who gives orders; and the five *Buddhas,* and other divinities of heaven, his ministers, who execute his orders; and we, poor mortals, his subjects, servants, and slaves. In this way the business of the world is distributed among the deities, each having his proper functions; and A'DI-BUDDHA has no concern with it. Thus the five *Buddhas* give *múkti* (see note 19) and *móksha* to good men: BRAHMA, by the orders of PADMA-PANI, performs the part of creator; VISHNU, by the same orders, cherishes all beings; and MAHA DEVA, by the same orders, destroys; YAMA takes cognizance of sins, and punishes sinners; INDRA and VARUNA give rain; and the sun and moon fructify the earth with their rays; and so of the rest.

*Question* VII.

Who is BUDDHA? Is he God, or the creator, or a prophet or saint; born of heaven, or of a woman?

*Answer.*

*Buddha* means, in Sanscrit, the wise; also, that which is known by wisdom; and it is one of the names which we give to God, whom we also call A'DI-BUDDHA, because he was before all, and is not created, but is the creator: and the *Pancha Buddha* were created by him, and are in the heavens. SAKYA, and the rest of the seven human *Buddhas* are earth-born or human. These latter, by the worship of BUDDHA, arrived at the highest eminence, and attained *Nirvána Pad* (*i. e.* were absorbed into A'DI-BUDDHA). (See note 20.) We therefore call them all *Buddhas.*

*Question* VIII.

What is the reason for BUDDHA being represented with curled locks?

*Answer.*

A'DI-BUDDHA was never seen. He is merely light. (See note 21.) But in the pictures of VAIROCHANA, and the other *Buddhas*, we have the curled hair; and since in the limbs and organs we discriminate thirty-two (*lacshanas*) points of beauty, such as expansion of forehead, blackness of the eyes, roundness of the head, elevation of the nose, and archedness of the eyebrows; so also the having curled locks is one of the points of beauty and there is no other reason for BUDDHA's being represented with curled locks. (See note 22.)

*Question* IX.

What are the names of the *great* BUDDHA? Does the *Néwári* language admit the word BUDDHA, or any substitute for it? and what is the *Bhótiya* name for BUDDHA?

*Answer.*

The names of A'DI-BUDDHA are innumerable: SARVAJNYA, SUGATA, BUDDHA, DHARMA-RAJA, TATHAGATA, BHAGAVAN,

SAMANT-BHADRA, MARAJITA, LOKAJITA, JINA, ANADINIDHANA, A'DI-BUDDHA, NIRANDHAKA, JNYANAIKACHAKSHU, AMALA, JNYANA-MURTI, VACHESWARA, MAHA-VADI, VADIRATA, VADI-PUNGAVA, VADISINHA, and PARAJATA. VAIROCHANA, and the other five *Buddhas*, have also many names. Some of VAIROCHA-NA's are as follows: MAHA-DIPTI, JNYANA, JYOTISH, JAGAT-PRA-VRITTI, MAHATEJAS, &c.; and so of the other four. PADMA-PANI also has many names, as PADMA-PANI, KAMALI, PADMA-HASTA, PADMA-KARA, KAMALA-HASTA, KAMALAKARA, KAMAL PANI, ARYAVALOKITESWARA, ARYAVALOKESWAR, AVLOKITES-WAR, and LOKA-NATHA. (See note 23.) Many of the above names are intercommunicable between the several persons to whom they are here appropriated. BUDDHA is a Sanscrit word, not *Néwári*: the *Bhótiya* names I do not know; but I have heard they call SAKYA SINHA, SUNGI THUBA: *Sungi* meaning the deity, and *Thúba* his *Alaya* or *Vihár*.

*Question* X.

In the opinion of the *Banras*, did God ever make a descent on earth? if so, how often; and what is the Sanscrit and *Néwári* name of each *Avatára*?

*Answer*.

According to the scriptures of the *Buddhamárgís*, neither A'DI-BUDDHA nor any of the *Pancha Buddha Dhyáni* (see note 24), ever made a descent; that is to say, they were never conceived in mortal womb; nor had they father or mother; but certain persons of mortal mould have by degrees attained to such excellence of nature and such *Bódhijnyána*, as to have been gifted with divine wisdom, and to have taught the *Bódhi-charya* and *Buddhamárga*, and these were seven, named: VIPASYA, SIKHI, VISWA-BHU, KARKUTCHAND, KANAKAMUNI, KASYAPA, SAKYA SINHA.

In the *Satya-yuga* were three: VIPASYA, who was born in *Vindúmati Nagar*, in the house of VINDUMAN RAJA; SIKHI, in *U'rna Désa;* and VISVABHU, in *Anúpamá Désa*, in the house of a *Kshatriya:* in the *Trétáyuga*, two persons became *Buddhas;* one

KARKUTCHAND, in *Kshémávati Nagar*, in the house of a *Brahman;* the other KANAKA MUNI, in *Súbhávati Nagar*, in the house of a *Brahman:* and in the *Dwapar-yuga*, one person named KASYAPA, in *Váránasi Nagar*, in the house of a *Brahman:* and in the *Kali-yuga*, SAKYA, then called SARVARTHA SIDDHA (see note 25), in the house of SUDHODANA RAJA, a *Sákyavansi*, in the city of *Ka-pálvastú*, which is near *Gangáságar*, became *Buddhas*. Besides these seven, there are many illustrious persons; but none equal to these. The particular history of these seven, and of other *Bud-dhas*, is written in the *Lalita Vistara*. (See note 25.)

*Question* XI.

How many *Avatáras* of *Buddhas* have there been, according to the Lamas?

*Answer*.

They agree with us in the worship of the seven *Buddhas*, the difference in our notions being extremely small; but the Lamas go further than this, and contend that themselves are *Avatáras*. I have heard from my father, that, in his time, there were five Lamas esteemed divine: the names of three of them I have forgotten, but the remaining two are called SHAMURPA and KARMAPA.

*Question* XII.

Do the Lamas worship the *Avatáras* recognized by the *Né-wárs?*

*Answer*.

The Lamas are orthodox *Buddhamárgis*, and even carry their orthodoxy to a greater extent than we do. Insomuch, that it is said, that SANKARA ACHARYA, *Síva-Márgí*, having destroyed the worship of BUDDHA and the scriptures containing its doctrine in Hindust'han, came to Nepaul, where also he effected much mis-chief; and then proceeded to *Bhóte*. There he had a conference with the grand Lama. The Lama, who never bathes, and after natural evacuations does not use topical ablution, disgusted him to

that degree, that he commenced reviling the Lama. The Lama replied, "I keep my inside pure, although my outside be impure; while you carefully purify yourself without, but are filthy within:" and at the same time he drew out his whole entrails, and shewed them to SANKARA; and then replaced them again. He then demanded an answer of SANKARA. SANKARA, by virtue of his *yóga*, ascended into the heavens; the Lama perceiving the shadow of SANKARA's body on the ground, fixed a knife in the place of the shadow; SANKARA directly fell upon the knife, which pierced his throat and killed him instantly. Such is the legend or tale that prevails, and thus we account for the fact; the *Buddhamárgí* practice of Bhote is purer, and its scriptures more numerous, than ours.

*Question* XIII.

What is the name of your sacred writings, and who is their author?

*Answer.*

We have nine *Puránas*, called "the nine *Dharmas*." (See note 26.) A *Purána* is a narrative or historical wórk, containing a description of the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism, and the lives of our chief *Tathágatas*. The first *Dharma* is called *Prajna Paramita*, and contains 8,000 slocas. This is a *Nyáya Sástra*, or work of a scientific character, capable of being understood only by men of science; the second is named *Ganda Vyúha*, of 12,000 slocas, which contains the history of SUDHANA KUMARA, who made sixty-four persons his *gurus*, from whom he acquired *Bódhijnána;* the third, is the *Samádhi Rája*, of 3,000 slocas, in which the nature and value of *japa* and *tapas* are explained; the fourth is the *Lancávatár*, of 3,000 slocas, in which is written how RAVANA, lord of Lancá, having gone to Malayagiri mountain, and there heard the history of the *Buddhas* from SAKYA SINHA, obtained *Bóddhijnána*. The fifth, which is called *Tathágata Guhya*, is not to be found in Nepaul; the sixth, is the *Sat Dharma Pundaríká*, which contains an account of the method of building a

*chaitya* or *Buddha-mandal*, and the mode and fruits of worshipping it. (*Chaitya** is the exclusive name of a temple dedicated to A'DI-BUDDHA or to the *Pancha Dhyáni Buddha*, and whatever temple is erected to SAKYA, or other *Mánushi Buddhas*, is called *vihár;*) the seventh, is the *Lalita Vistára*, of 7,000 slocas, which contains the history of the several incarnations of SAKYA SINHA BHAGAVAN, and an account of his perfections in virtue and knowledge, with some notices of other *Buddhas*. The eighth, is the *Suvarna Prabhá*, containing, in 1,500 slocas, an account of SARASWATI, LAKSHMI and PRITHIVI; how they lauded SAKYA SINHA BHAGAVAN; and how he, in return, gave each of them what she desired. The ninth, is the *Das'a Bhúméswara*, of 2,000 slocas, containing an account of the ten *Bhuvanas* of BUDDHA. All these *Puránas* we received from SAKYA SINHA, and esteem them our primitive scriptures, because before the time of SAKYA our religion was not reduced to writing, but retained in memory; the disadvantages of which latter method being evident to SAKYA, he secured our institutes by writing them. Besides these *Puránas*, we received *Tantras* and *Dháranís* from SAKYA SINHA. *Tantra* is the name of those books in which *Mantras* and *Yantras* are written, explanatory of both of which we have very many works. Three of them are famous: first, *Máyá Jál*, of 16,000 slocas; second, *Kala Chakra*, of 6,000; third, *Sambhu Udaya*, of 1,000. The *Dháranís* were extracted from the *Tantras*, and are similar in nature to the *Gúhya*, or mysterious rites, of the *Siva-Márgis*. A *Dháraní* is never less than eight slocas, or more than five hundred; in the beginning and middle of which are written the "*Vija Mantra*," and at the end, the "*Thúl Stotra*," or the *Mahátmya*, *i. e.* what desire may be accomplished or what business achieved by the perusal of that *Dháraní*; such, for example, as obtaining children—advantage over an enemy—rain—or merely the approbation of BUDDHA. There are probably a thousand *Dháranís*.

* Besides these *chaityas* and the *Vihars*, the Nepaulese have common temples, dedicated equally to the *Diiminores* of the *Bauddhas*, and to all the deities of the *Sairas*.

*Question* XIV.

What is the cause of good and evil?

*Answer.*

When PADMA-PANI, having become *Tri-gun-A'tmaka*, that is, having assumed the form of SATYA-GUN, RAJA-GUN, and TAMA-GUN, created BRAHMA, VISHNU, and MAHESA; then from SATYA-GUN, arose spontaneously (*Swabhávaka*), *punya* or virtue, and from TAMA-GUN, *pápa* or evil, and from RAJA-GUN, the mean of the two, which is neither all good nor all evil: for these three *gunas* are of such a quality that good acts, mixed acts, and bad acts, necessarily flow from them. Each of these *karmas* or classes of actions is divided into ten species, so that *pápa* is of ten kinds; first (see note 27) murder; second, robbery; third, adultery, which are called *káyaka* or bodily, *i. e.* derived from *Káya;* fourth, lying; fifth, secret slander; sixth, reviling; seventh, reporting such words between two persons as excite them to quarrels, and these four *pápas* are called *Váchaka, i. e.* derived from speech; eighth, coveting another's goods; ninth, malice, and tenth, disbelief of the scriptures and immorality; and these three are called *mánasi, i. e.* derived from *manas* (the mind). The ten actions opposite to these are good actions: and the ten actions, composed, half and half, of these two sorts, are mixed actions.

*Question* XV.

What is the motive of your good acts—the love of God—the fear of God—or the desiring of prospering in the world?

*Answer.*

The primary motive for doing well, and worshipping BUDDHA, according to the scriptures, is the hope of obtaining *Mukti* and *Móksha*, becoming *Nirvána*, and being freed from transmigrations: these exalted blessings cannot be had without the love of God; therefore they, who make themselves accepted by God, are the true saints, and are rarely found; and between them and BUDDHA

there is no difference, because they will eventually become *Buddhas*, and will obtain *Nirvána Pada, i. e. mukti* (absorption), and their *jyóti* will be absorbed into the *jyóti* of BUDDHA; and to this degree SAKYA and the others of the "*Sapta-Buddha*" (see note 28) have arrived, and we call them *Buddhas*, because, whoever has reached this state is, in our creed, a *Buddha*. Those persons who do good from the fear of hell, and avoid evil from the desire of prospering in the world, are likewise rarely found, and their degree is much above that of the class of sinners. Their sufferings in *Naraka* will be therefore lessened; but they will be constrained to suffer several transmigrations, and endure pain and pleasure in this world, till they obtain *Mukti* and *Móksha*.

*Question* XVI.

Will you answer, in the world to come, to A'DI-BUDDHA for your acts in this world, or to whom will you answer? and what rewards for good, and pains for evil, will you reap in the next world?

*Answer.*

How can the wicked arrive at BUDDHA? (see note 29.) Their wicked deeds will hurry them away to *Náraka;* and the good, will, by virtue of their good acts, be transported to the *Bhuvanas* of BUDDHA, and will not be there interrogated at all; and those who have sometimes done good and sometimes evil, are destined to a series of births and deaths on earth, and the account of their actions is kept by YAMA RAJA.

*Question* XVII.

Do you believe in the metempsychosis?

*Answer.*

Yes. For it is written in the *Játaka Mála*, and also in the *Lalita Vistára*, that SAKYA, after having transmigrated through five hundred and one bodies, obtained *Nirvána Pada* or *Mukti* in the last body; but so long as we cannot acquire *Mukti*, so long

we must pass through births and deaths on earth. Some acquire *Móksha* after the first birth, some after the seventy-seventh, and some after innumerable births. It is no where written that *Móksha* is to be obtained after a prescribed number of births; but every man must atone for the sins of each birth by a proportionate number of future births, and when the sins of the body are entirely purified and absolved, he will obtain absorption into A'DI-BUDDHA.

*Question* XVIII.

What and from whence are the *Néwars*, from Hindust'han or Bhote? (see note 30,) and what is the word *Néwar*, the name of a country or a people?

*Answer.*

The natives of the valley of Nepaul are *Néwars*. In Sanscrit, the country is called *Naipála*, and the inhabitants *Naipálí*; and the words *néwár* and *néwári* are vulgarisms arising from the mutation of p to v, and l to r. Thus too the word *Bandya*, the name of the *Buddhamárgí* sect (because its followers make *bandana*, *i. e.* salutation and reverence to the proficients in *Bódhijnána*), is metamorphosed by ignorance into *Bánra*, a word which has no meaning.

*Question* XIX.

Do the *Néwars* follow the doctrine of caste or not?

*Answer.*

As inhabitants of one country they are one—but in regard to caste, they are diverse.

*Question* XX.

How many castes are there amongst the *Bánras*?

*Answer.*

*Bánra*, according to the true reading, is *Bandya*, as explained above. According to our *Puránas*, whoever has adopted the tenets

of BUDDHA, and has cut off the lock from the crown of his head, of whatever tribe or nation he be, becomes thereby a *Bandya* (see note 31). The *Bhotiyas*, for example, are *Bandyas* because they follow the tenets of BUDDHA, and have no lock on their heads. The *Bandyas* are divided into two classes; those who follow the *Váhya-charya*, and those who adopt the *Abhyantara-charya*—words equivalent to the *Grihastha ásram* and *Vairágí ásram* of the *Bráhmanas*. The first class is denominated *Bhikshu;* the second, *Vajra A'chárya*. The *Bhikshu* cannot marry; but the *Vajra A'chárya* is a family man. The latter is sometimes called, in the vernacular tongue of the *Néwars*, *Gúbhál*, which is not a Sanscrit word. Besides this distinction into monastic and secular orders, the *Bandyas* are again divided, according to the scriptures, into five classes: first, *Arhan;* second, *Bhikshu;* third, *Sráwaka;* fourth, *Chailaka;* fifth, *Vajra A'chárya*. The *Arhan* is he who is perfect himself, and can give perfection to others: who eats what is offered to him, but never asks for any thing. The *Bhikshu*, is he who assumes a staff and beggar's dish (*khikshari* and *pinda pátra*), sustains himself by alms, and devotes his attention solely to the contemplation (*dhyána*) of A'DI-BUDDHA, without ever intermeddling with worldly affairs. The *Sráwaka* is he who devotes himself to hearing the *Bauddha* scriptures read or reading them to others; these are his sole occupations, and he is sustained by the small presents of his audiences. The *Chailaka* is he who contents himself with such a portion of clothes (*chilaka*) as barely suffices to cover his nakedness, rejecting every thing more as superfluous. The *Bhikshu* and the *Chailaka* very nearly resemble each other, and both (and the *Arhan* also) are bound to practice celibacy. The *Vajra A'chárya* is he who has a wife and children, and devotes himself to the active ministry of Buddhism. Such is the account of the five classes found in the scriptures; but there are no traces of them in Nepaul. No one follows the rules of that class to which he nominally belongs. Among the *Bhotiyas* there are many *Bhikshus*, who never marry; and the *Bhotiya Lamas* are properly *Arhans*. But all the Nepaulese *Buddhamárgís* are married men, who pursue the business of the world, and seldom think

of the injunctions of their religion. The *Tantras* and *Dháranís*, which ought to be read for their own salvation, they read only for the increase of their stipend and from a greedy desire of money. This division into five classes is according to the scriptures; but there is a popular division according to *Vihárs*, and these *Vihárs* being very numerous, the separate congregations of the *Bandyas*, have been thus greatly multiplied. In Pátan alone there are fifteen *Vihárs*. A temple to A'DI-BUDDHA, or to the five *Dhyáni-Buddhas*, called a *Chaitya*, is utterly distinct from the *Vihár*, and of the form of a sheaf of *Dhánya*. But the temples of SAKYA and the other of the "*Sapta Buddha Mânushi*," as well as those of other chief saints and leaders of Buddhism are called *Vihárs*. The names of the fifteen *Vihárs* of Pátan are as follows: *Tankal-Vihár*, *Tú-Vihár*, *Hak-Vihâr*, *Bhû-Vihâr*, *Haran-Varna-Mahá-Vihár*, *Rudra-Varna-Mahá-Vihár*, *Bhikshu-Vihár*, *Sákya-Vihár*, *Guhya-Vihár*, *Shí-Vihár*, *Dhom-Vihár*, *Un-Vihár*, &c. (see note 32.) In short, if any *Bandya* die, and his son erect a temple in his name, such structure may be called such an one's (after his name) *Vihár*. With this distinction, however, that a temple to an eminent saint is denominated *Mahá-Vihár*—one to an ordinary mortal, simply *Vihár*.

## NOTES.

(1) Here a sloca of the *Sambhu Purána* is quoted in the original paper; and it was my first intention to have repeated it on the margin of the translation; but, upon reflection, I believe it will be better to observe, that the *Sambhu Purâna* is a work peculiar to Nepaul. Many other *Bauddha* scriptures, however, which are not local, and are of high authority, symbolize the forming and changing powers of nature by the letters of the alphabet; and ascribe the pre-eminence among these letters to *a*, *u*, and *m*—making the mystic syllable *óm*, which is not less reverenced by *Bauddhas* than by *Bráhmanas*. A, the *Bauddhas* say, is the *Víja Mantra* of the person BUDDHA; U, the *Víja Mantra* of the person DHARMA; and M, that of the person SANGA—and these three persons form the Buddhist Triad.

The *Bauddhas*, however, differ in their mode of *classing* the three persons. According to the *Aishwarikas*, the male, BUDDHA, the symbol of generative power, is the first member; the female, DHARMA, the type of productive power, is the second; and SANGA, their son, is the third, and represents *actual* creative power, or an *active* creator and ruler, deriving his origin from the union of the essences of BUDDHA and DHARMA. SANGA, according to all the schools, though a member, is an inferior member, of the triad.

(2) Another sloca is here quoted; but it will not justify the language of the text, in which there is some confusion of the opposite doctrines of the *Aishwarikas* and *Swabhávikas*. In the triad of the latter, the female, DHARMA (also called PRAJNA), the type of productive power, is the first member; UPAYA, or BUDDHA, the symbol of generative power, the second; and SANGA the third; their son as before, and the active author of creation, or rather the type of that spontaneous creation, which results necessarily from the union of the two principles of nature beforementioned.

BUDDHA and PRAJNA united become *Upáya Prajna;* or *vice versa*, according to the school, and *never* as in the text. (For some further remarks upon these chief objects of *Bauddha* worship, see Notes 12 and 29.)

I take this early opportunity to remark that candid criticism will compare, and not contrast, the statements made in Notes 10, 12, 17, 20, and 29, especially with reference to the *Swabhávika* doctrine. (See Note 16.)

(3) The deduction of the five *Dhyáni Buddhas*, and the five *Dhyáni Bódhisatwas*, from A'DI-BUDDHA, according to the *Aishwarika Bauddhas*, will be stated farther on. It is a celestial or divine creation, and is here improperly mixed with the generative creations, theistic and atheistic, of various doctors.

(4) See Note 23.

(5) The sloca quoted is from the *Pújá Kánd*, which is a mere manual of worship, of recent origin, and probably local to Nepaul. It professes, however, to be a faithful compilation from the *Guna-*

*Káranda Vyúha*, and *Káranda Vyúha*. The latter of these is a work of respectable authority, and contains the following partial justification of the language of the *Pújá Kánd*. (SAKYA, speaking to his disciple SARVANI VARANA VISHKAMBHI, says,) "In the very distant times of VIPASYA BUDDHA I was born as the son of SUGANDA MUKHA, a merchant: in that birth I heard from VIPASYI the following account of the qualities of ARYAVALOKITESHWARI (PADMA PANI.) The sun proceeded from one of his eyes: and from the other, the moon; from his forehead MAHADEVA; from between his shoulders, BRAHMA; from his chest, VISHNU; from his teeth, SARASVATI; from his mouth, VAYU; from his feet, PRITHVI; from his navel, VARUNA." So many deities issued from ARYAVALOKITESHWARA's body. This passage is expanded in the *Guna-Kárand Vyúha*, wherein it is added, that when ARYAVALOKITESHWARA had created BRAHMA, VISHNU, and MAHESA, they stood before him, and he said to the first, "be thou the lord of *Satyaguna* and create;" and to the second, "be thou the lord of *Rajaguna* and preserve;" and to the third, "be thou the lord of *Tamaguna* and destroy." The *Guna-Káranda Vyúha*, is however a mere amplification of the *Káranda Vyúha*, and of much less authority. In a passage of the *Saraka Dhára*—which is not one of the sacred writings of Nepaul, but a work of high authority, written by SARVAJNA MITRAPADA, a *Bauddha* ascetic of Cashmeer—the Hindu deities are made to issue from the body of the supreme PRAJNA just as, according to the *Káranda Vyúha*, they proceed from that of PADMA PANI.

(6) The authority for these ten mansions is the *Dasa Bhúmeshwara*, one of the nine great works spoken of in the answer to the thirteenth question; and which treats professedly of the subject. The thirteen mansions are, however, mentioned in sundry works of high authority; and the thirteen grades of the superior part of the *Chaitya* (or proper *Bauddha* temple) are typical of the thirteen celestial mansions alluded to in the text. The most essential part of the *Chaitya* is the solid hemisphere; but the vast majority of *Chaityas* in Nepaul have the hemisphere surmounted by a pyramid or cone, called *Chúrá Mani*, and *invariably divided into thirteen grades.*

(7) All this, as well as what follows, is a mere transcript from the Brahmanical writings. There is, nevertheless, authority for it in the *Bauddha* scriptures. The *Bauddhas* seem to have adopted without hesitation the cosmography and chronology of the Brahmans, and also a large part of their pantheon. They freely confess to have done so at this day. The favourite Brahmanical deities accepted by the Buddhists are, of males: MAHA KALA, INDRA, GANESA, HANUMAN, and the triad. Of females: LAKSHMI and SARASVATI. The Hindu triad are considered by the Buddhists as the mere servants of the *Buddhas* and *Bódhisatwas*, and only entitled to such reverence as may seem fit to be paid to faithful servants of so high masters. Of the *origin* of these deities, according to the *Bauddha* books, I have already given one account, and referred to another. The notions of the three *gunas* and of the creation, &c. by the Brahmanic triad as the delegates of the *Bódhisatwas*, I look upon to be modern inventions. According to genuine Buddhism, the *Bódhisatwas* are, each in his turn, the active agents of the creation and government of the world.

(8) An important historical person, and the apparent introducer of Buddhism into Nepaul. (See note 30).

(9) This is a most curious legend. I have not yet seen the *Tantra* whence it professes to be extracted, and suspect that the legend was stolen from our Bible, by some inhabitant of Nepaul, who had gathered a confused idea of the Mosaic history of the origin and fall of mankind from the Jesuit missionaries, formerly resident in this valley; or perhaps the legend in question was derived from some of those various corrupt versions of the biblical story which have been current among the Jews and Moslems of Asia for many centuries.

(10) This limited reply is the fault of my friend and not of his books. Matter is called *Prakritti* by the Buddhists, as well as by the Brahmans. The *Swabhávika* school of *Bauddha* philosophy (apparently the oldest school) seems to have considered matter as the sole entity, to have ascribed to it all the attributes of deity, and to have assigned to it two modalities; one termed *nirvritti*, and the other *pravritti*. (See note 12.) To speak more precisely,

the above is rather the doctrine of the *Prájnika Swabhávikas* than of the simple *Swabhávikas:* for the former unitize the active and intelligent powers of nature, the latter do not unitize them; and prefer to all other symbols of those dispersed powers of nature the letters of the alphabet generally, and without much regard to the pre-eminence of a, u, and m. Indeed, it is probable that the mystic syllable Aum is altogether a comparatively recent importation into Buddhism. The Lotos is a very favourite type of creative power with all the *Bauddhas;* and accordingly representations of it occur in a thousand places, and in as many forms in the *Bauddha* sculptures and architecture; for which, see the drawings which accompany this sketch, *passim.*

(11) The sloca quoted is from a modern little manual of *Pújá.* I have not seen any *adequate* original authority; but the *Aishwárika* Buddhists, who maintained an eternal, infinite, intellectual A'di-Buddha, in all probability made the human soul an emanation from him; and considered *Móksha* a remanation to him.

(12) The *Swabhávikas,* the name assumed by one of the four schools of *Bauddha* philosophy, and apparently the oldest, are divided into two sects; one called *Swabhávikas* simply, the other *Prájnika Swabhávikas.* The former maintain that an eternal revolution of entity and non-entity is the system of nature, or of matter, which *alone* exists. The *Prájnikas deify* matter as the sole substance, and give it two modes, the abstract and the concrete: in the former, they *unitize* the active and intelligent powers held to be inherent in matter, and make this unit deity. Such is the abstract or proper mode, which is unity, immutability, rest, bliss. The second is the *contingent* or concrete mode, or that of actual, visible, nature. To this mode belong action, multiplicity, change, pain. It begins by the energies of matter passing from their proper and eternal state of rest into their contingent and transitory state of action; and ends when those energies resume their proper modality. The proper mode is called *nirvritti;* the contingent mode *pravritti.* The powers of matter cannot be described in their proper state of abstraction and unity. In the latter state, all the order and beauty of nature are images of their

quality: they are also symbolized by the *Yóni*, and personified as a female divinity called A'DI-PRAJNA and A'DI-DHARMA. Man's *summum bonum* is to pass from the transmigrations incident to the state of *pravritti* intó the eternal rest or bliss of *nirvritti.* The Triadic doctrine of all the schools is referable solely to *pravritti.* In the state of *nirvritti,* with *some* of the *Aishwárikas,* BUDDHA represents intellectual essence and the then *sole* entity; with others of the *Aishwárikas* DHARMA, or material *essence* exists *biunely* with BUDDHA in *nirvritti,* the two being in that state *one.* With the *Prajnikas* PRAJNA, in the state of *nirvritti,* is the *summum et solum numen, Diva Natura*—the sum of all the intellectual and physical forces of matter, considered as the sole entity, and held to exist in the state of *nirvritti* abstracted from palpable material *substance,* eternally, unchangeably, and essentially one. When this essential principle of matter passes into the state of *pravritti,* BUDDHA, the type of active power, first proceeds from it and then associates with it, and from that association results the actual visible world. The principle is feigned to be a *female,* first the mother, and then the wife, of the *male* BUDDHA. (For a glimpse at the esoteric sense of these ænigmas, see note 29.)

(13) The work cited is of secondary authority; but the mode of reasoning exhibited in the text is to be found in *all Bauddha* works which treat of the *Swabhávika* doctrine.

(14) This is the name of the Theistic school of the *Bauddha* philosophers. The *Sambhú Purána* and *Guna-Káranda Vyuha* contain the least obscure enunciation of Theism—and these books belong to Nepaul. Other *Bauddha* scriptures, however, which are not local, contain abundant expressions capable of a Theistic interpretation. Even those *Bauddha* philosophers who have insisted that matter is the sole entity, have ever magnified the wisdom and power of nature: and doing so, they have reduced the difference of theism and atheism almost to a nominal one: so, at least, they frequently affirm.

The great defect of *all* the schools is the want of Providence and of dominion in their *causa causarum,* though the comparatively

recent *Kármikas* and *Yátnikas* appear to have attempted to remedy this defect. (See the following note.)

(15) Of two of the four schools of *Bauddha* philosophy, namely, the *Swabhávika* and *Aishwárika*, I have already said a few words: the two remaining schools are denominated the *Kármika* and *Yátnika*—from the words *Karma*, meaning moral action; and *Yatna*, signifying intellectual force, skilful effort. The proper topics of these two schools seem to me to be confined to the phenomena of *human* nature—its *free-will*, its sense of right and wrong, and its mental power. To the wisdom of SWABHAVA, *or* PRAJNA, *or* A'DI-BUDDHA, the *Bauddhas*, both *Swabhávikas* and *Aishwarikas*, had assigned that eternal *necessary* connexion of virtue and felicity in which they alike believed. It remained for the *Kármikas* and *Yátnikas* to discuss how each individual *free-willed* man might most surely hope to realize that connexion in regard to himself; whether by the just conduct of his understanding, or by the proper cultivation of his moral sense? And the *Yátnikas* seem to have decided in favour of the former mode; the *Kármikas*, in favour of the latter. Having settled these points, it was easy for the *Yátnikas* and *Kármikas* to exalt their systems by linking them to the throne of the *causa causarum*—to which they would be the more readily impelled, in order to remove from their faith the obloquy so justly attaching to the ancient *Prájnika*, and even to the *Aishwarika* school, because of the want of Providence and of Dominion in their first cause. That the *Kármikas* and *Yátnikas* originally limited themselves to the phenomena of human nature, I think probable, from the circumstances that, out of some forty slocas which I have had collected to illustrate the doctrines of these schools, scarcely one goes beyond the point of whether man's felicity is secured by virtue or by intellect? And that, when these schools go further (as I have the evidence of *two* quotations from their books that they *sometimes* do), the trespassing on ground foreign to their systems seems obvious; thus in the *Divya Avadán*, SAKYA says, "from the union of UPAYA and PRAJNA arose manas—the lord of the senses; and from manas or mind proceeded good and evil;" and this union of UPAYA and

PRAJNA is then declared to be a *Karma*. And in the same work, in regard to the *Yátnika* doctrine, it is said, "ISHWARA (*i. e.* A'DI-BUDDHA) produced YATNA from PRAJNA, and the cause of *pravritti* and *nirvritti* is YATNA; and all the difficulties that occur in the affairs of this world or of the next are rendered easy by YATNA." Impersonality and quiescence were the objections probably made to the first cause of the *Prájnikas* and *Aishwarikas;* and it was to remove these objections that the more recent *Kármikas* and *Yátnikas* feigned conscious moral agency (*Karma*), and conscious intellectual agency (*Yatna*) to have been with the *causa causarum* (whether material or immaterial) from the beginning. Of all the schools, the *Kármikas* and *Yátnikas* alone seem to have been duly sensible of man's free-will, and God's moral attributes. The *Kármika* confession of faith is, "*Purva janma Kritang Karma tad Daivyam iti Kathyaté,*" which may be very well translated by our noble adage, "conduct is fate." Such sentiments of *human* nature naturally inclined them to the belief of immaterial existences, and accordingly they will be found to attach themselves in theology *chiefly* to the *Aishwarika* school.

(16) This is the divine creation alluded to in the third note. The eternal, infinite and intellectual A'DI-BUDDHA possesses, as proper to his own essence, five sorts of wisdom. From these he, by five separate acts of *Dhyán*, created the five *Dhyáni Buddhas*, to whom he gave the virtue of that *jnána* whence each derived his origin. These five *Dhyáni Buddhas* again created, each of them, a *Dhyáni Bódhisatwa* by the joint efficacy of the *jnán* received from A'DI-BUDDHA, and of an act of his own *Dhyán*.

The five *Dhyáni Buddhas* are, like A'DI-BUDDHA, quiescent—and the active work of creation and rule is devolved on the *Bódhisatwas*. This creation by *Dhyán* is eminently characteristic of Buddhism—but *whose Dhyán* possesses creative power? that of an eternal A'DI-BUDDHA, say the *Aishwarikas* of the *Sámbhú Púrana*—that of *any Buddha*, even a *Mánushi* or mortal *Buddha*, say the *Swabhávikas*. The *Bauddhas* have no other notion of creation (than that by *Dhyán*), which is not generative.

(17) These terms are common to all the schools of *Bauddha*

philosophy; with the *Aishwarikas, nirvritti* is the state in which mind exists independent of matter; *pravritti,* the state in which it exists while mixed with matter. With the simple *Swabhávikas* the former term seems to import non-entity; the latter, entity. With the *Prájnika Swabhávikas,* the former term signifies the state in which the active and intellectual power of matter exists abstractedly from visible nature; the latter, imports the manner or state in which the same power exists in connexion with visible nature. The *Móksha* of the first is absorption into A'DI-BUDDHA; of the second, absorption into SHUNYA; of the third, identification with PRAJNA. In a word, *nirvritti* means abstraction, and *pravritti,* concretion—from *nirván* is formed *nirvritti,* but *pravritti* has no *praván.*

(18) If so, I am afraid few *Bauddhas* can be called wise. The doctrine of the text in this place is that of the *Aishwarikas, set off to the best advantage:* the doctrine incidentally objected is to that of the *Swabhávikas* and *Prájnikas.* Sir W. Jones assures us that the Hindus "consider creation (I should here prefer the word change) rather as an energy than as a work." This remark is yet more true in regard to the *old Bauddha* philosophers: and the mooted point with them is, *what* energy creates? an energy *in*trinsic in some archetypal state of matter, or *ex*trinsic? The old *Bauddha* philosophers seem to have insisted that there is no sufficient evidence of immaterial entity. But, what is truly remarkable, *some* of them, at least, have united with that dogma a belief in *moral and intellectual operations;* nor is there one tenet so diagnostic of Buddhism as that which insists *that man is capable of extending his moral and intellectual faculties to infinity.* True it is, as Mr. Colebrooke has remarked, that the Hindu philosophy recognizes this dogma—coldly recognizes it, and that is all: whereas, the *Bauddhas* have pursued it into its most extravagant consequences, and made it the corner-stone of their faith and practice. (See note 29.)

(19) I have not yet found that these *Dhyáni Buddhas* of the Theistic school *do* any thing. They seem to be mere personifications, according to a Theistic theory, of the active and intellectual

powers of nature—and hence are called *Panch Bhúta, Panch Indriya*, and *Panch A'yatan-A'kár*.

It may seem contrary to this notion of the quiescence of the five *Dhyáni Buddhas*, that, according at least to some Nepaul works, each of them has a *Sakti*. VAIROCHANA's is *Vajra-Dhateshwarí*; AKSHOBHYA's, *Lóchaná*; RATNA SAMBHAVA's, *Mámukhí*; AMITABHA's, *Pándará*; AMOGHA SIDDHA's, *Tárá*. But I apprehend that these *Buddha-Sakties* are peculiar to Nepaul; and though I have found their names, I have *not* found that they *do* any thing.

There *is* indeed a secret and filthy system of *Buddhas* and *Buddha-Sakties*, in which the ladies act a conspicuous part; and according to which, A'DI-BUDDHA is styled *Yógambara*; and A'DI-DHARMA, *Jnán-Eshwarí*. But this system has only been recently revealed to me, and I cannot say more of it at present.

(20) According to the *Aishwarikas*: the *Swabhávikas* say, into *Akásh* and *Shúnyatá*; the *Prájnikas*, into A'DI-PRAJNA. The *Swabhávika* doctrine of *Shúnyatá* is the darkest corner of their metaphysical labyrinth. It cannot mean strictly nothingness, since there are seven degrees of *Shúnyatá*, whereof the first is *Akásh*: and *Akásh* is so far from being deemed nothingness that it is again and again said to be the only real substance. Language sinks under the expression of the *Bauddha* abstractions; and by their *Shúnyatá* I understand sometimes the *place*, and sometimes the form, in which the infinitely attenuated elements of all things exist in their state of separation from the palpable system of nature.

N. B. The images of all the seven great *Mánushi Buddhas*, referred to in the answer to the 7th question, are exactly similar to that of SAKYA SINHA, the seventh of them. This image very nearly resembles that of AKSHOBHYA, the second *Dhyáni Buddha*. The differences are found only in the supporters, and in the cognizances (*chinas.*) When *coloured* there is a more remarkable diagnosis, AKSHOBHYA being blue, and SAKYA and the other six *Mánushis* yellow.

(21) The *Sambhú Púrána* says, *manifested* in Nepaul in the

form of flame (*Jyóti rúpa.*) According to the same work, A'DI-DHARMA'S (or PRAJNA'S) manifestation in Nepaul is in the form of water (*jal surúpa.*)

(22) This is the true solution of a circumstance which has caused much idle speculation: though the notion is, no doubt, an odd one for a sect which insists on tonsure!

(23) These are PADMA PANI'S names in his character of active creator and governor of the *present* world. Three *Dhyáni Bódhisatwas* preceded him in that character, and one (the fifth) remains to follow him.

(24) I have already stated that these deities, conformably with the quiescent genius of Buddhism, *do* nothing; they are merely the medium through which creative power is communicated to the *Bódhisatwas* from ADI-BUDDHA. It is the *Bódhisatwas* alone who *exercise* that power, one at a time, and each in his turn. It is a ludicrous instance of *Bauddha* contempt for action, that some recent writers have made á fourth delegation of active power to the three gods of the Hindu Triad.

(25) Until he attained *bódhijnána;* and even then, while yet lingering in the flesh, he got the name of SAKYA SINHA. This name has caused some speculation, on the asserted ground of its not being Indian. The *Bauddha* scriptures differ as to the city in which SAKYA was born ; but all the places named are Indian. They also say that the *Shakvansa* was an Indian race or family; as was the *Gótamavansa,* in which also SAKYA was once born.

(25 *bis*) This must be received with some allowance. The *Lalita Vistárá* gives ample details of SAKYA'S numberless births and acts, but is nearly silent as to the origin or actions of his six great predecessors: and the like is true of many other *Bauddha* scriptures.

(26) These works are regularly worshipped in Nepaul as the "*Nava Dharma.*" They are chiefly of a *narrative* kind. The most important work of the *speculative* kind now extant in Nepaul is the *Raksha Bhagavati,* consisting of no less than 125,000 slocas. This is a work of philosophy rather than of religion, and its spirit is sceptical to the very verge of pyrrhonism. The

*Bauddhas* of Nepaul hold it in the highest esteem, and I have sent three copies of it to Calcutta. Its *arrangement*, at least, and *reduction to writing*, are attributed (as are those of all the other *Bauddha* scriptures) to Sakya Sinha. Whatever the *Buddhas* have said, (*sugutai desita*) is an object of worship with the *Bauddhas*. Sakya having collected these words of the *Buddhas*, and secured them in a written form, they are now worshipped under the names *Sútra* and *Dharma*. The aggregation of nine *Dharmas* is for ritual purposes; but why the nine specified works have been selected to be thus peculiarly honoured I cannot say. They are probably the oldest and most authentic scriptures existing in Nepaul, though this conjecture is certainly opposed to the reverence expressed for the *Raksha Bhagavati*, by the *Buddhists*. That work (as already stated) is of vast extent, containing no less than 125,000 slocas, divided into five equal parts or *khands*, which are known by the names of the five *Páramitas* and the five *Rakshas*.

(27) The three first sins should be rendered, all destruction of life, all taking without right, and all sexual commerce whatever. The ten are the cardinal sins of *Buddhism*, and will bear a very favourable comparison with the five cardinal sins of *Brahmanism*.

(28) The *Buddhas* mentioned in the *Bauddha* scriptures are innumerable. Many of them, however, are evident non-entities in regard to history. Even the *Buddhas* of mortal mould are vastly numerous, and of various degrees of power and rank. These degrees are three, entitled, *Pratyéka*, *Srávaka*, and *Mahá Yánika*. Sakya Sinha is often said to be the *seventh* and *last Mánushí Buddha* who has yet reached the supreme grade of the *Mahá Yánika*. In the *Lalita Vistára*, there is a formal enumeration of the perfections in knowledge and virtue requisite for attaining to each of these three grades—a monstrously impracticable and impious array of human perfectibility! The three grades are known by the collective name of "*Tri Jána*," or "*Tri Yána*."

(29) Genuine *Buddhism* never seems to contemplate any mea-

sures of acceptance with the deity; but, overleaping the barrier between finite and infinite mind, urges its followers to aspire by their own efforts to that divine perfectibility of which it teaches that man is capable, and by attaining which man becomes God—and thus is explained both the quiescence of the imaginary *celestial*, and the plenary omnipotence of the real *Mánushi Buddhas*—thus too we must account for the fact, that genuine *Buddhism* has no priesthood: the saint despises the priest; the saint scorns the aid of mediators, whether on earth or in heaven: "conquer (exclaims the adept or *Buddha* to the novice or *Bódhi-Satwa*)—conquer the importunities of the body, urge your mind to the meditation of abstraction, and you shall, in time, discover the great secret (*Prajna*) of nature; know this, and you become, on the instant, whatever priests have feigned of Godhead—you become identified with PRAJNA, the sum of all the power and all the wisdom which sustain and govern the world, and which, as they are manifested *out* of matter, must belong solely *to* matter; not indeed in the gross and palpable state of *pravritti*, but in the archetypal and pure state of *nirvritti*. Put off therefore the vile, *pravrittika* necessities of the body, and the no less vile affections of the mind; urge your thoughts into pure abstraction (*Dhyán*), and then, as assuredly you *can*, so assuredly you *shall*, attain to the wisdom of a *Buddha* (*Bódhijnán*), and become associated with the eternal unity and rest of *nirvritti*." Such, I believe, is the esoteric doctrine of the *Prájnikas*—that of the *Swabhávikas* is nearly allied to it, but more timid and sceptical; they too magnify the wisdom and power of nature so abundantly diffused throughout *pravritti*, but they seem not to unitize that wisdom and power in the state of *nirvritti*, and incline to conceive of *nirvritti*, as of a state of things concerning which nothing can be predicated; but which, even though it be nothingness (*Shúnyatá*), is at least a blissful *rest* to man, otherwise doomed to an eternity of transmigrations through all forms of visible nature: and while the *Swabhávikas* thus underrated the *nirvritti* of the *Prájnikas*, it is probable that they compensated themselves by magnifying, more than the *Prájnikas* did, that *pravrittika* omnipotence of which the wise man (*Buddha*) is capable,

*even upon earth.* It has been already stated that the second person of the *Prájnika Triad* is denominated BUDDHA and UPAYA; of which terms the esoteric sense is this: Every man possesses in his understanding, when properly cultivated according to the rules of *Buddhism*, the means or expedient (*Upáya*) of discovering the supreme wisdom of nature (*Prajna*), and of realizing, by this discovery in his own person, a plenary omnipotence or divinity! which begins even while he yet lingers in the flesh (in *pravritti*); but which is not fully accomplished till he passes, by the body's decay, into the eternal state of *nirvritti.*

And as the wisdom of man is, in its origin, but an effluence of the Supreme wisdom (*Prajna*) of nature, so is it perfected by a refluence to its source, but without loss of individuality: whence *Prajna* is feigned in the exoteric system to be both the mother and the wife of all the *Buddhas*, "*janani sarva Buddha,*" and "*Jin-sándari;*" for the efflux is typified by a birth, and the reflux by a marriage.

The *Buddha* is the adept in the wisdom of *Buddhism* (*Bódhi-jnán*) whose first duty, so long as he remains on earth, is to communicate his wisdom to those who are willing to receive it. These willing learners are the "*Bódhisatwas,*" so called from their hearts being inclined to the wisdom of *Buddhism*, and "*Sangas,*" from their companionship with one-another, and with their *Buddha* or teacher, in the *Vihárs* or cœnobitical establishments.

And such is the esoteric interpretation of the third (and inferior) member of the *Prájnika Triad.* The *Bódhisatwa* or *Sanga* continues to be such until he has surmounted the *very last* grade of that vast and laborious ascent by which he is instructed that he can "scale the heavens," and pluck immortal wisdom from its resplendent source: which achievement performed, he becomes a *Buddha*, that is, an Omniscient Being, and a *Tathágata*—a title implying the accomplishment of that gradual increase in wisdom by which man becomes a *Buddha.* These doctrines are very obscurely indicated in the *Bauddha* scriptures, whose words have another more *obvious* and very different sense; nor, but for the ambition of the *commentators* to exhibit their learning, would it be

easy to gather the esoteric sense of the words of most of the original scriptures. I never was more surprised than when my old friend recently (after a six years' acquaintance) brought to me, and explained, a valuable comment upon a passage in the *Prajna Páramita.* Let me add in this place, that I desire all searchers after the doctrine of *Bódhijnán* to look into the *Bauddha* scriptures, and judge for themselves; and to remember, meanwhile, that I am not a *Sanscrit* scholar, and am indebted for all I have gathered from the books of the Buddhists to the mediation of my old *Bauddha* friend, and of my *Pundit.*

(30) Their physiognomy, their language, their architecture, civil and religious, their notions in regard to women, and several less important traits in their manners and customs, seem to decide that the origin of the *greater part* of the Néwars must be assigned to the north: and in the *Sambhú Purána,* a *Bauddha* teacher named MANJ-GHOSH, and MANJ-NATH and MANJUSRI, is stated to have led a colony into Nepaul from China; to have cleared Nepaul of the waters which then covered it; to have made the country habitable; to have built a temple to JYOTI-RUP-A'DI-BUDDHA; and established DHARMAKAR (whom he brought with him) as first Raja of Nepaul. But I nevertheless suppose (upon the authority of tradition) that Nepaul received *some* colonists from India; and that *some* of the earliest propagators of Buddhism in Nepaul came to the valley *direct* from India. Be that as it may, the Indian origin of Nepaulese Buddhism (whether it reached the valley direct, or *viá* Bhote or China) seems to be unquestionable from the fact that all the great *Saugata* scriptures of Nepaul are written in the *Sanscrit language.* From the gradual decay of literature and of a knowledge of Sanscrit among the Néwars has resulted the practice, now very common, of translating *ritual* works into the vernacular tongue; and also the usage of adding to the original Sanscrit of *such* works comments in the vulgar language. The great scriptures however have never been subjected to the former process; seldom to the latter; for owing to Sanscrit having always been considered by the Buddhists of Nepaul the language of literature, they have neglected to cultivate their vernacular tongue; nor does

there exist to this day a dictionary or grammar of the Néwari language.

(31) Of course therefore the *Bauddhas* of Nepaul have not *properly* any diversity of caste; that is, any indelible distinction of ranks derived from birth, and necessarily carried to the grave. *Genuine* Buddhism proclaims the equality of all followers of BUDDHA—seems to deny to them the privilege of pursuing worldly avocations, and abhors the distinction of clergy and laity. All proper *Bauddhas* are *Bandyas;* and all *Bandyas* are equal as brethren in the faith. They are properly all ascetics—some solitary, mostly cœnobitical. Their convents are called *Vihárs.* The rule of these *Vihárs* is a rule of freedom; and the door of every *Vihár* is always open, both to the entrance of new comers, and to the departure of such of their old inmates as are tired of their vows. Each *Vihár* has a titular superior, whose authority over his brethren depends only on their voluntary deference to his superior learning or piety. Women are held equally worthy of admission with men, and each sex has its *Vihárs.*

The old *Bauddha* scriptures enumerate four sorts of *Bandyas,* named *Arhan, Bhikshu, Srávaka* and *Chailaka,* who are correctly described in the text; and from that description it will be seen that there is no essential distinction between them, the *Arhan* being only segregated from the rest by his superior proficiency in *Bódhijnán.* Of these the proper institutes of *Buddhism,* there remains hardly a trace in Nepaul. The very names of the *Arhan* and *Chailaka* have passed away—the names, and the names only, of the other two exist; and out of the gradual, and now total, disuse of monastic institutes, an exclusive minister of the altar, denominated *Vajra A'chárya,* has derived his name, office, and existence in Nepaul, not only without sanction from the *Bauddha* scriptures, but in direct opposition to their spirit and tendency. Nepaul is still covered with *Vihárs;* but these ample and comfortable abodes have long resounded with the hum of industry and the pleasant voices of women and children. The *superior* ministry of religion is now solely in the hands of the *Bandyas,* entitled, *Vajra-A'chárya* in Sanscrit; *Gúbhál* in Newari: the *inferior* ministry,

such *Bhikshus* as still follow religion as a lucrative and learned profession, are competent to discharge. And these professions of the *Vajra A'chárya*, and of the *Bhikshu*, have become by usage hereditary, as have all other avocations and pursuits, whether civil or religious, in Nepaul. And as in the modern corrupt *Buddhism* of Nepaul there are exclusive ministers of religion or *priests*, so are there many *Bauddhas* who retain the lock on the crown of the head, and are not *Bandyas*. These improper *Bauddhas* are called *Udás:* they never dwell in the *Vihárs*, look up to the *Bandyas* with a reverential respect derived from the misapplication of certain ancient tenets, and follow those trades and avocations which are comparatively disreputable (among which is *foreign* commerce); while the *Bandyas*, who have abandoned the profession of religion, practise those crafts which are most esteemed. Agriculture is equally open to both; but is, in fact, chiefly followed by the *Udás*, who have thus become, in course of time, more numerous than the *Bandyas*, notwithstanding the early abandonment by the *Bandyas* of those ascetical practices which their faith enjoins, the resort of the greater part of them to the active business of the world, and their usurpation of all the liberal, and three-fourths of the mechanical arts of their country; for the *Bandyas* have the exclusive inheritance of thirty-six professions and trades; the *Udás*, that of seven trades only. The *Vajra A'chárya* and *Bhikshu* are the religious guides and priests of both *Bandyas* and *Udás*. All *Bandyas*, whatever be the profession or trade they hereditarily exercise, are still equal; they intermarry, and communicate in all the social offices of life—and the like is true of all *Udás*—but between the one class and the other, growing superstition has erected an insuperable barrier. To the above remarks it may be well to add, that *Buddhists*, of some one or other of the above denominations, comprise the vast majority of the Newar race, and that the minority, are *Saivas;* but in a sense peculiar to themselves, and with which my subject does not entitle me here to meddle.

(33) The names are almost all barbarous; that is, not derived from Sanscrit, but from Newari. I have not thought it worth while to enumerate any more of these examples. The *Vihár* is

built round a large quadrangle, or open square, two stories high; the architecture is Chinese. *Chaitya* properly means a *temple of* BUDDHA, and *Vihár* an abode of cœnobitical *followers* of BUDDHA. In the open square in the midst of every *Vihár*, is placed a *Chaitya*—but those words always bear the senses here attached to them; and *Vihár* can never be construed temple—it is a convent, or monastery, or religious house, but never *templum* DEI *vel* BUDDHÆ. At the base of the hemisphere of *every Nepaul Chaitya* are placed the images of the DHYANI BUDDHAS. The *Chaitya* has often been *blended* with sundry structures, more or less appropriate to *Buddhism*.

To conclude: with respect to the notes—that portion of this sketch, which is my own—no one can be more sensible than I am that the first half contains a sad jumble of cloudy metaphysics. How far the sin of this indistinctness is mine, and how far that of my original authorities, I cannot pretend to decide; but am ready to take a large share of it to myself. In regard to *this*, the most speculative part of Buddhism, it is sufficient happiness for me to have discovered and placed within the reach of my countrymen the *materials* for more accurate investigation, by those who have leisure, patience, and a knowledge of languages for the undertaking; and who, with competent talents, will be kind enough to afford the world the benefit of so irksome an exercise of them.

But I trust that the *latter* half of the notes, which embraces topics more practical and more within the range of the favourite pursuits of my leisure, will not be found wanting in distinctness; and I can venture confidently to warrant the *accuracy* of the information contained in it.

## No. III.

### QUOTATIONS FROM ORIGINAL SANSCRIT AUTHORITIES IN PROOF AND ILLUSTRATION OF MR. HODGSON'S SKETCH OF BUDDHISM.

**(Printed from the Bengal Asiatic Journal, Nos. 49 and 50, A. D. 1836.)**

*Preface.*

Several distinguished orientalists having, whilst they applauded the novelty and importance of the information conveyed by my Sketch of Buddhism,* called upon me for proofs, I have been induced to prepare for publication the following translation of significant passages from the ancient books of the *Saugatas*, which still are extant in *Nepaul* in the original *Sanscrit.*

These extracts were made for me (whilst I was collecting the works† in question) some years ago by AMIRTA NANDA BANDYA, the most learned *Buddhist* then, or now, living in this country; they formed the materials from which chiefly I drew my sketch; and they would have been long since communicated to the public, had the translator felt sufficiently confident of his powers, or sufficiently assured that enlightened Europeans could be brought to tolerate the 'ingens indigestaque moles' of these 'original authorities;' which however, in the present instance, are original in a far higher and better sense than those of DE KOROS, or even of

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of London;—necnon, Transactions of Bengal Society, vol. xvi.

† The collection comprises, besides 60 volumes in *Sanscrit*, procured in *Nepaul*, the very names of which had previously been unknown, some 250 volumes, in the language of *Tibet*, which were obtained from *Lassa* and *Digarchi*. But for the existence of the latter at Calcutta, Mr. DE KOROS's attainments in *Tibetan* lore had been comparatively useless. The former or *Sanscrit* books of *Nepaul* are the authorities relied on in this paper. Since the first collection was made in *Nepaul*, very many new works in the Sanscrit language have been discovered and are yet daily under discovery. The probability now is, that the entire *Kahgyur* and *Stangyur* may be recovered, in the original language. The whole series has been obtained in that of Tibet, 327 large volumes.

UPHAM. Without stopping to question whether the sages who formed the *Bauddha* system of philosophy and religion used *Sanscrit* or high *Prácrit*, or both, or seeking to determine the consequent pretension of Mr. UPHAM's authorities to be considered original,* it may be safely said, that those of Mr. DE KOROS can support no claims of the kind.

The native works which the latter gentleman relies on are avowedly *Tibetan* translations of my *Sanscrit* originals, and whoever will duly reflect upon the dark and profound abstractions, and the infinite-simally-multiplied and microscopically-distinguished personifications of Buddhism, may well doubt whether the language of *Tibet* does or can adequately sustain the weight that has been laid upon it.

*Sanscrit*, like its cognate Greek, may be characterised as a speech "capable of giving a soul to the objects of sense, and body to the abstractions of metaphysics." But, as the *Tibetan* language can have no pretensions to a like power, those who are aware that the *Saugatas* taxed the whole powers of the *Sanscrit* to embody in

* These authorities however, even if allowed to be original, appear to consist entirely of childish legends. I allude to the three published volumes. The received hypothesis, viz. that the philosophers of *Ayudhya* and *Magadha*, (the acknowledged founders of *Buddhism*) postponed the use of Sanscrit to that of *Pracrit*, in the original exposition of their subtle system appears to me as absurd as it does probable that their successors, as *Missionaries*, resorted to Pracrit versions of the original Sanscrit authorities, in propagating the system in the remotest parts of the continent and in Ceylon. On this ground, I presume the Pracrit works of Ceylon and Ava to be translations, not originals :—a presumption so reasonable that nothing but the production from Ceylon or Ava of original Pracrit works, comparable in importance with the Sanscrit books discovered in Nepaul, will suffice to shake it in my mind. Sir W. JONES I believe to be the author of the assertion, that the *Buddhists* committed their system to high Pracrit or Pali ; and so long at least as there were no Sanscrit works of the sect forthcoming, the presumption was not wholly unreasonable. It is, however, so now. And Sir W. JONES was not unaware that *Magadha* or *Bihar* was the original head-quarters of *Buddhism*, nor that the best Sanscrit lexicon extant was the work of a *Bauddha* ; nor that the *Brahmans* themselves acknowledged the pre-eminent *literary* merits of their heterodox adversaries.

But for his *Brahmanical* bias therefore, Sir WILLIAM might have come at the truth, that the *Bauddha* philosophers employed the classical language.

words their system, will cautiously reserve, I apprehend, for the *Bauddha* books still extant in the classical language of India, the title of original authorities. From such works, which, though now found only in *Nepaul*, were composed in the plains of India before the dispersion of the sect, I have drawn the accompanying extracts; and though the merits of the "doing into English" may be small indeed, they will yet, I hope, be borne up by the paramount and (as I suspect) unique authority and originality of my "original authorities," a phrase which, by the way, has been somewhat invidiously, as well as laxly used and applied in certain quarters.

It is still, I observe, questioned amongst us, whether *Bráhmanism* or *Buddhism* be the more ancient creed, as well as whether the latter be of Indian or extra Indian growth. The *Buddhists* themselves have no doubts upon either point. They unhesitatingly concede the palm of superior antiquity to their rivals and persecutors, the *Bráhmans;* nor do they in any part of the world hesitate in pointing to India as the cradle of their faith.

Formerly we might be pardoned for building fine-spun theories of exotic origin of Buddhism upon the African locks of BUDDHA's images: but surely it is now somewhat too late,* in the face of the abundant direct evidence which we possess, against the exotic theory, to go in quest of presumptions to the time-out-of-mind illiterate Scythians, in order to give to them the glory of originating a system built upon the most subtle philosophy, and all the copious original records of which are inshrined in *Sanscrit,*† a language which, whencesoever primevally derived, had been, when *Buddhism* appeared, for ages proper to the Indian continent.

The Buddhists make no serious pretensions to a very high antiquity: never hint at an extra Indian origin.

* Recent discoveries make it more and more certain, that the cave temples of the Western Coast and its vicinity, are *exclusively Bauddha.* Every part of India is illustrated by splendid remains of Buddhism.

† The difference between high *Pracrit* and *Sanscrit,* could not affect this question, though it were conceded that the founders of *Buddhism* used the former and not the latter—a concession however, which should not be facilely made, and to which I wholly demur.

Sakya Sinha is, avowedly, a *Kshetriya;* and, if his six predecessors had really any historical existence, the books which affirm it, affirm too, that all the six were of *Bráhmanical* or *Kshetriyá* lineage. *Saugata* books treating on the subject of caste never call in question the antique fact of a fourfold division of the Hindu people, but only give a more liberal interpretation to it than the current *Bráhmanical* one of their day.* The Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans, the Indo-Chinese, the Ceylonese and other Indian Islanders, all point to India as the father-land of their creed. The records of *Buddhism* in *Nepaul* and in *Tibet,* in both of which countries the people and their mother-tongues are of the *Mongol* stock, are still either *Sanscrit* or avowed translations from it by Indian *pandits.* Nor is there a single record or monument of this faith in existence, which bears intrinsic or extrinsic evidence of an extra Indian origin.†

The speculations of a writer of Sir W. Jones's day (Mr. Joinville), tending to prove, argumentatively, from the characters of *Buddhism* and *Bráhmanism,* the superior antiquity of the former, have been lately revived (see Asiatic Journal, No. CLX.) with applause. But besides that fine drawn presumptions are idle in the face of such a mass of direct evidence as we now possess, the reasonings of Joinville appear to me altogether based on errors of fact. *Buddhism* (to hazard a character in few words),

* See the *Bauddha* disputation on caste. Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions.

† See Crawfurd's remarks, on the purely Indian character of all the great sculptural and architectural monuments of *Buddhism* in Java. Also Barrow's remarks to the same effect in his travels in China. The Chinese *Pusa* is *Visvarupya Prajna* or the polyform type of Diva Natura. See Oriental Quarterly Magazine, No. xvi. pp. 218—222, for proofs of the fact that numberless *Bauddha* remains have been mistaken for *Brahmanical* by our antiquaries, and even by the natives. In the same work I have proved this in reference to Crawfurd's Archipelago, Oriental Quarterly, No. xvi. pp. 232, 235.

Yet, no sooner had I shown, from original authorities, how thoroughly *Indian Buddhism* is, than it was immediately exclaimed, 'oh ! this is *Nepaulese* corruption ! these are merely popular grafts from *Brahmanism.*' The very same character belongs to the oldest monuments of *Buddhism,* extant in India and beyond it; and I have traced that character to the highest scriptural authorities.

is monastic asceticism in morals, philosophical scepticism in religion; and whilst ecclesiastical history all over the world affords abundant instances of such a state of things resulting from gross abuse of the religious sanction, that ample chronicle gives us no one instance of it as a primitive system of belief. Here is a legitimate inference from sound premises. But that *Buddhism* was, in truth, a reform or heresy, and *not* an original system, can be proved by the most abundant direct evidence both of friends and of enemies. The oldest *Saugata* works incessantly allude to the existing superstition as the *Márcharya* or way of the serpent, contradistinguishing their reformation thereof as the *Bóddhi-charya* or way of the wise; and the *Bráhmanical* impugners of those works (who, upon so plain a fact, could not lie), invariably speak of *Buddhism* as a notorious heresy.

An inconsiderable section of the *Saugatas* alone, ever held the bold doctrine of mortal souls: and the *Swábhávika* denial of a creation of matter by the fiat of an absolutely immaterial being, springs, not out of the obesity of barbarian dulness, but out of the over refinement of philosophical ratiocination. JOINVILLE's idea of the speculative tenets of *Buddhism* is utterly erroneous. Many of them are bad indeed: but they are of philosophy all compact profoundly and painfully subtle, sceptical too, rather than atheistically dogmatic.

At the risk of being somewhat miscellaneous in this preface, I must allude to another point. The lamented ABEL REMUSAT sent me, just before he died, a copy of his essay on the *Saugata* doctrine of the Triad; and Mr. UPHAM, I find, has deduced from REMUSAT's interpretation of that doctrine, the inference (which he supports by reference to sundry expressions in the sacred books of Ceylon), that I am in error in denying that *Buddhism*, in its first, and most characteristic form, admits the distinction of Clerus et Laicus. It is difficult expressly to define that distinction; but it may be seen in all its breadth in *Bráhmanism* and in Popery; whilst in Islamism, and in the most enthusiastic of the Christian sects, which sprung out of the Reformation, it is wholly lost.

According to my view, Apostolic Christianity recognised it not;* the congregation of the faithful, the Church, was a society of peers, of brethren in the faith, all essentially equal, in gifts, as in place and character. On earth, there were no indispensable mediators, no exclusive professional ones; and such alone I understand to be priests. Again, genuine monachism all over the world, I hold to be, in its own nature, essentially opposed to the distinction of clergyman and layman, though we all know that monastic institutions no sooner are rendered matters of public law and of extensive popular prevalence, than, ex vi necessitatis, the distinction in question is superinduced upon them, by the major part of the monks laicising, and the rest *becoming clergy*.† There are limits to the number of those whom the public can support in idleness: and whoso would eat the bread of the public must perform some duty to the public. Yet who can doubt that the true monk, whether cœnobite or solitary, is he who abandons the world to save his *own* soul; as the true clergyman is he who mixes with the world to save the souls *of others?* The latter in respect to the people or laics has a distinctive function, and, it may be also an exclusive one: the former has no function at all. Amongst entirely monastic sects, then, the exclusive character of priest is objectless and absurd: and who that has glanced an eye over ecclesiastical history knows not that in proportion as sects are enthusiastic, they reject and hate, (though nothing tainted with monachism) the exclusive pretensions of the clergy! Whoever has been able to go along with me in the above reflections can need only to be told that primitive *Buddhism* was entirely monastic, and

* I would not be understood to lay stress on this opinon, which is merely adduced to illustrate my argument.

† History informs us that, soon after monachism supervened upon our holy and eminently social religion, there were in Egypt as many monks almost as peasants. Some of these monks necessarily laicised, and the rest became clergy. The community of the *Gosains* and several others, of strictly ascetical origin now in India, exhibit the same necessary change after the sects had become numerously followed.

of an unboundedly enthusiastical genius,* to be satisfied that it did not recognise the distinction in question. But if, being suspicious of the validity of argumentative inferences, he demand of me simple facts, here they are. In the *Sata Sahasrika*, *Prajna Paramitá*, or *Racha Bhagavati*, and also in the nine *Dharmas* (the oldest and highest written authorities), it is affirmed more or less directly, or is clearly deducible from the context, in a thousand passages (for the subject is not expressly treated), that the only true followers of BUDDHA are monks, the majority being cœnobites, the rest, solitaries. The fullest enumeration of these followers (*Bhikshu Srávaka* or *Srámana*, *Chailaka*, and *Arhata* or *Arhana* or *Arhanta*) proves them to have been all monks, tonsured, subject to the usual vows, (nature teaching to all mankind that wealth, women and power, are the grand tempters,) resident in monasteries (*Vihár*) or in deserts, and essentially peers, though of course acknowledging the claims of superior wisdom and piety. The true church, the congregation of the faithful, is constantly said to consist of such only; and I am greatly mistaken indeed if the church in this sense be synonymous with the clergy; or, if the primitive church of BUDDHA recognized an absolutely distinct body such as we (i. e. Catholics, Lutherans, and Kirkmen) ordinarily mean when we speak of the latter. The first mention of an exclusive, professional active, minister of religion, or priest, in the *Bauddha* books, is in those of a comparatively recent date, and not of scriptural authority. Therein the *Vajra Achárya* (for so he is called) first appears arrayed with the ordinary attributes of a priest. But his character is anomalous, as is that of every thing about him; and the learned *Bauddhas* of Nepaul at the present day universally admit the falling off from the true faith. We have in these books, *Bhikshus*, *Srávakas*, *Chailakas*, and *Sákya Vansikas*,† bound by

* Its distinguishing doctrine is that finite mind can be enlarged to infinite; all the schools uphold this towering tenet, postponing all others to it. As for the scepticism of the *Swabhavikas* relative to those transcendent marvels, creation and providence, it is sufficient to prove its remoteness from "flat Atheism," simply to point to the *coexistence* of the cardinal tenet first named.

† An inscription at *Carli* identifies the splendid *Salibahana* with the head of the

their primitive rules for ten days (in memory of the olden time) and then released from them; tonsured, yet married; ostensibly monks, but really citizens of the world.

From any of the above, the *Vajra Achárya*, is drawn indiscriminately; he keeps the keys of the no longer open treasury; and he is surrounded with *untonsured* followers, who now present themselves for the first time. I pretend not to trace with historical nicety all the changes which marked the progress of *Buddhism* as a public institute and creed of millions up to the period of the dispersion: but I am well aware, that the primitive doctrines were not, because they could not be, *rigidly* adhered to, when what I hold to have been at first the closet speculation of some philosophers, had become the dominant creed of large kingdoms. That the latter character was, however, assumed by *Buddhism* in the plains of India, long before the dispersion, seems certain; and, as many persons may urge that the thing in question is the dominant public institute, not the closet speculation, and that whatever discipline prevailed before the dispersion must be held for primitive and orthodox, I can only observe that the ancient books of the *Saugatas*, whilst they glance at such changes as I have adverted to, do so in the language of censure; and that upon the whole, I still strongly incline to the opinion that genuine or primitive *Buddhism* (so I cautiously phrased it, originally) rejected the distinction of Clerus et Laicus; that the use of the word priest by UPHAM, is generally inaccurate; and that the *Sangha* of the

Saka tribe, which is that of SAKYA SINHA. The *Sakya-Vansikas*, or people of the race of *Sakya*, appeared in *Nepaul* as refugees from *Brahman* bigotry, some time after *Buddhism* had been planted in these hills. *Sakya* is universally allowed to have been the son of king SUDDHADANA, sovereign of *Magadha, or Bihar*. He is said to have been born in the "*Asthan* of *Kapila Muni*," at *Ganga Sagar*, according to some; in *Oude*, as others say. His birth place was not necessarily within his father's kingdom. He may have been born when his father was on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Saint KAPILA. SAKYA died, according to my authorities, in Assam, and left one son named RAHULA BHADRA. The *Sakas* were *Kshetriyas* of the solar line, according to *Bauddha* authorities: nor is it any proof of the contrary that they appear not in the Brahmanical genealogies. See note in the sequel.

*Buddhist* triad ought to have been invariably rendered by REMUSAT into 'congregation of the faithful' or 'church,' and never into 'clergy' or 'priesthood.' REMUSAT indeed seems to consider (*Observations*, 28-9, and 32), these phrases as synonymous; and yet the question which their discrimination involves is one which, in respect to our own religion, has been fiercely agitated for hundreds of years; and still, by the very shades of that discrimination, chiefly marks the subsisting distinction between the various Churches of Christ!

Following the authority he has relied on, Mr. UPHAM was at liberty, therefore, to adopt a sense which would consist with *my* interpretation of phrases such as he alluded to, and which, of course, I found copiously scattered over the works I consulted.

I always rendered them advisedly into English, so as to exclude the idea of a priesthood, because I had previously satisfied myself, by separate inquiry and reflection, that that cardinal tenet was repugnant to the genius of the creed, and repudiated by its primitive teachers. This important point may have been wrongly determined by me; but assuredly the determination of it upon such grounds as Mr. UPHAM's is perfectly futile. Such words as *Arhanta* and *Bandya*, (which, by the way, are the correct forms of the *Burmese Rahatun* and the Chinese *Bonze*,) no more necessarily mean, priest, clergy, than do the Latin, fideles and milites, as applied to Christianity; and as for the word *Sangha*, it is indisputable that it does *not* mean *literally* priest,* and that it *does* mean *literally* congregation.

If, as REMUSAT and UPHAM appear to insist is the case, every monastic follower of BUDDHA be a priest, then *Bandya* or *Bonze*† must be rendered into English by the word 'clergyman.'

* Observations, p. 92.

† The possible meaning of this word has employed in vain the sagacity of sundry critics. In its proper form of *Bandya*, it is pure *Sanscrit*, signifying a person entitled to reverence, and is derived from *Bandana*.

Equally curious and instructive is it to find in the *Sanscrit* records of *Buddhism* the solution of so many enigmas collected by travellers from all parts of Asia; e grege, ELPHINSTONE's mound is a genuine Chaitya, and its proper name

But there will still remain as much difference between *Bandya* and *Sangha* as, in Christian estimation, between an ordinary parson of the present day, and one of the inspired primitive professors. Of old, the spirit descended upon all alike; and *Sangha* was this hallowed and gifted congregation. But the glory has passed away, and the term been long sanctified and set apart. So has, in part, and for similar reasons, the word *Arhata*. But *Bandya*, as a generic title, and *Bhikshu, Srávaka, and Chailaka,* as specific ones, are still every-day names of every-day people, priests, if it must be so, but as I conceive, ascetics or monks merely. In the thick night of ignorance and superstition which still envelopes *Tibet*, the people fancy they yet behold *Arhatas* in the persons of their divine *Lámas*. No such imagination however possesses the heads of the followers of Buddha in Nepaul, Ceylon, or extra Gangetic India; though in the last mentioned country the *name* Arhata is popularly applied to the modern order of the clergy, an order growing there, as in *Nepaul*, (if my opinions be sound) out of that deviation from the primitive genius and type of the system which resulted necessarily from its popular diffusion as the rule of life and practice of whole nations.

In conclusion I would observe, that, in my apprehension, REMUSAT's interpretation of the various senses of the Triadic doctrine is neither very complete, nor very accurate. In a religious point of view, by the first member is understood the founder of

is *Manikalaya*, or the place of the precious relic. The mound is a tomb temple. The 'tumuli eorum Christi altaria' of the poet, is more true of *Buddhism* than even of the most perverted model of Christianity; the *cause* being probably the same, originally, in reference to both creeds, viz. persecution and martyrdom, with consequent divine honours to the sufferers. The *Bauddhas*, however, have in this matter gone a step further in the descending scale of representative adoration than the Catholics; for they worship the mere image of that structure which is devoted to the inshrining of the relics of their saints; they worship the architectural model or form of the *Chaitya*.

The *Chaitya* of SAMBHUNATH in *Nepaul* is affirmed to cover *Jyoti rupya* SWAYAMBHU, self-existent, in the form of flame: nor was there ever any thing *exclusive* of theism in the connection of tomb and temple: for *Chaityas* were always dedicated to the *Celestial Buddhas*, not only in *Nepaul*, but in the plains of India, as the *Chaityas* of *Sanchi*, of *Gya*, and of *Bag*, demonstrate. The *Dhyani Buddhas* appear in the oldest monuments of the continent and islands.

the creed, and all who, following his steps, have reached the full rank of a *Maha Yánika Buddha;* by the second, the law or scriptures of the sect; and by the third, the congregation of the faithful, or primitive church, or body of original disciples, or even, any and every assemblage of true, i. e. of *conventual ascetical* observers of the law, past or present.

In a philosophical light, the precedence of *Buddha* or of *Dharma* indicates the theistic or atheistic school. With the former, *Buddha* is intellectual essence,* the efficient cause of all, and underived. *Dharma* is material essence,† the plastic cause, and underived, a co-equal by unity with *Buddha;* or else the plastic cause, as before, but dependent and derived from *Buddha*. *Sangha* is derived from, and compounded of, *Buddha* and *Dharma*, is their collective energy in the state of action; the immediate operative cause of creation, its type or its agent.‡ With the latter or atheistic schools, *Dharma* is *Diva natura*, matter as the sole entity, invested with intrinsic activity and intelligence, the efficient and material cause of all.

*Buddha* is derivative from *Dharma*, is the active and intelligent force of nature, first put off from it and then operating upon it. *Sangha* is the *result* of that operation; is embryotic creation, the type and sum of all specific forms, which are spontaneously evolved from the union of *Buddha* with *Dharma*.§ The above are the principal distinctions, others there are which I cannot venture here to dwell on.

With regard to REMUSAT's remark, "on voit que les trois noms sont placés sur le même niveau, comme les trois representations des

* *Bodhanatmaka iti Buddha*, 'the intellectual essence is *Buddha*.'

† *Dharanatmaka iti Dharma*, 'the holding, sustaining or containing substance is *Dharma*.' Again, *Prakriteswari iti Prajna*, 'the material goddess is *Prajna*,' one of the names of DHARMA. The word *Prajna* is compounded of the intensive prefix *pra*, and *jnyana* wisdom, or *jna*, to know. It imports the supreme wisdom of nature. *Dharma* is the universal substratum, is that which supports all form and quality in the versatile world.

‡ *Samudayatmika iti Sangha*, 'the multitudinous essence is *Sangha*:' multitude is the diagnosis of the versatile universe, as unity is of that of abstraction.

§ *Prajnaupaytmakang Jaggata.*

même êtres dans les planches de M. HODGSON avec cette difference que sur celles-ci, *Sanga est* á droite, et *Dharma* à *gauche*," I may just add, that the placing of *Sangha* to the right is a merely ritual technicality, conformable to the *pujá* of the *Dakshinácharś*,* and that all the philosophers and religionists are agreed in postponing *Sangha* to *Dharma*.

I possess very many drawings exhibiting the arrangement mentioned by REMUSAT; but all subservient to mere ritual purposes and consequently worthy of no serious attention. The *Matantara*, or variorum text of the *Pujarís* of the present day, displays an infinite variety of formula,† illustrated by corresponding sculptural and pictorial devices, embodied in those works, and transferred from them to the walls and interior of temples existing all over the valley of Nepaul.

## QUOTATIONS.

### *The Swábhávika Doctrine.*

1. All things are governed or perfected by *Swabháva*;‡ I too am governed by *Swabhava*. (*Ashta Sahasrika*.)

2. It is proper for the worshipper at the time of worship to reflect thus: I am *Nirlipt*,§ and the object of my worship is *Nirlipt*; I am that God (*Iswara*) to whom I address myself. Thus meditating, the worshipper should make *puja* to all the celestials: for example, to *Vajra Satwa Buddha*, let him pay his adorations, first, by recollecting that all things with their *Vija Mantras* came from *Swabháva* in this order:—from the *vija*‖ of the letter Y, air; from that of the letter R, fire; from that of the letter V, or B, water,

* The theistic sects so call themselves, styling their opposites, the *Swabhavikas* and *Prajnikas*, *Vamachars*. The *Pauranikas*, too, often designate the *Tantrikas* by the latter name, which is equivalent to left-handed.

† See the classified enumeration of the principal objects of *Bauddha* worship appended to this paper. Appendix B.

‡ *Swa*, own, and *bhava*, nature. Idiosyncrasis.

§ Intact and intangible, independent.

‖ Root, radix, seed.

and from that of the letter L, earth; and from that of the letter S, Mount *Sumērū*. On the summit of *Sumēr* is a lotos of precious stones, and above the lotos, a moon crescent, upon which sits, supremely exalted, *Vajra Satwa*. And as all (other) things proceed from *Swabháva*, so also does *Vajra Satwa*, thence called the self-existent.* (*Pujá kand.*)

3. All things and beings (in the versatile universe) which are alike perishable, false as a dream, treacherous as a mirage, proceed, according to some, from *Swabháva* (nature) and according to others, from God, (*Iswara*;) and hence it is said, that *Swabháva* and *Iswara* are essentially one, differing only in name.† (*Ashta Sahasrika.*)

4. At the general dissolution of all things, the four elements shall be absorbed in *Súnyákár-Akásh* (sheer space) in this order: Earth in water, water in fire, fire in air, and air in *Akásh*, and *Akásh* in *Súnyáta*, and *Súnyáta* in *Tathatá*,‡ and *Tathata* in *Buddha*, (which *Mahá Súnyáta*§) and *Buddha* in *Bhávana*, and *Bhávana* in *Swabháva*. And when existence is again involved, each shall in the inverse order, progress from the other. From that *Swabháva*, which communicates its property of infinity to *Akásh* proceeded into being, in *Akásh* the letter A. and the rest of the letters; and from the letters, *Adi Buddha*‖ and the other *Buddhas*; and from the *Buddhas*, the *Bodhi-Satwas*, and from them the five elements, with their *Vija Mantras*. Such is the *Swabhávika Sansár*; which *Sansár* (universe) constantly re-

* This may teach us caution in the interpretation of terms. I understand the dogma to announce, that infinite intelligence is as much a part of the system of nature as finite. The mystic allusion to the alphabet imports nothing more than its being the indispensable instrument and means of knowledge or wisdom, which the *Buddhists* believe man has the capacity of perfecting up to the standard of infinity.

† See note on No. 3, on the *Yatnika* system.

‡ *Tathata*, says the comment, is *Satya Juyan*; and *Bhavana* is *Bhava* or *Satta*, i. e. sheer entity.

§ See note on quotation 1 of the section *A'di-Buddha*.

‖ Here again I might repeat the caution and remark at quotation 2. I have elsewhere observed, that *Swabhavika* texts, differently interpreted, form the basis

volves between *Pravritti* and *Nirvritti*, like a potter's wheel. (*Divya Avadán.*)

5. *Mahá Súnyáta* is, according to some, *Swabhava*, and according to others, *Iswara*; it is like the ethereal expance, and self-sustained. In that *Máhá Súnyáta*, the letter A, which the *Vija Mantra* of *Upaya*,* and the chief of all the *Vija Mantras* of the letters, became manifest. (*Rucha Bhágavati.*)

6. Some say creation is from God: if so, what is the use of *Yatna* or of *Karma*?† That which made all things, will preserve and destroy them; that which governs *Nirvritti*, governs *Pravritti* also. (*Buddha Charitrakávya.*)

7. The sandal tree freely communicates its fragrance to him who tears off its bark. Who is not delighted with its odour? It is from *Swabháva*. (*Kalpalata.*)

8. The elephant's cub, if he find not leafless and thorny creepers in the green wood, becomes thin. The crow avoids the ripe mango.‡ The cause is still *Swabháva*. (Do.)

9. Who sharpened the thorn? Who gave their varied forms, colours, and habits to the deer kind, and to the birds? *Swabháva!* It is not according to the will (*ichchha*) of any; and if there be no desire or intention, there can be no intender or designer.§ (*Buddha Charitra.*)

sis of the *Aiswarika* doctrine, as well as that the *Buddhas* of the *Swabhavikas*, who derive their capacity of identifying themselves with the first cause from nature, *which is that cause*, are as largely gifted as the *Buddhas* of the *Aiswarikas*, deriving the same capacity from *A'di-Buddha*, who *is that cause*. See remarks on Remusat apud Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, Nos. 32, 33, and 34.

* *Upaya*, the expedient, the energy of nature in a state of activity. See the note on No. 6, of the section *A'di-Sangha*.

† See the note on quotation 9 of this head. *Yatna* and *Karma* may here be rendered by intellect and morality.

‡ These are assumed facts in Natural History; but not correct.

§ Here is plainly announced that denial of self-consciousness or personality in the causa causarum which constitutes the great defect of the *Swabhavika* philosophy: and if this denial amount to atheism, the *Swabhavikas* are, for the most part, atheists; their denial also of a moral ruler of the universe being a necessary sequel to it. Excepting, however, a small and mean sect of them, they all affirm eternal necessary, entity; nor do any of them reject the soul's existence beyond the

10. The conch, which is worthy of all praise, bright as the moon, rated first among excellent things, and which is benevolent to all sentient beings, though it be itself insensate, yields its melodious music, purely by reason of *Swabháva*. (*Kalpalata.*)

11. That hands and feet, and belly and back, and head, in fine, organs of whatever kind, are found in the womb, the wise have attributed to *Swabháva;* and the union of the soul or life (*A'tma*) with body, is also *Swábháva*. (*Buddha Charitra Kávya.*)

12. From *Swabháva* (nature) all things proceeded; by *Swabháva* all things are preserved. All their differences of structure and of habits are from *Swabháva:* and from *Swabháva* comes their destruction. All things are regulated (*suddha*) by *Swabháva*. *Swabháva* is known as the Supreme. (*Pujá kand,*—from the *Rucha Bhágavati,* where the substance is found in sundry passages.)

13. *Akásh* is *Swábhávika,* because it is established, governed, perfected (*suddha*) by its own force or nature. All things are absorbed in it: it is uncreated or eternal; it is revealed by its own force; it is the essence (*A'tma**) of creation, preservation, and destruction; it is the essence of the five elements; it is infinite; it is intellectual essence (*Bodhanátmika*). The five colours are proper to it; and the five *Buddhas;* and the letters. It is *Súnyáta;* self-supported; omnipresent: to its essence belong both *Pravritti* and *Nirvritti*. This *Akásh,* which is omnipresent, and essentially intellectual,† because infinite things are absorbed into

the grave, or the doctrine of atonement. Still NEWTON'S is, upon the whole, the right judgment, 'Deus sine providentia et dominio nihil est nisi fatum et natura.' The *Swabhavika* attempts to deify nature are but a sad confusion of cause and effect. *But,* in a serious religious point of view, I fail to perceive any superiority possessed by the immaterial pantheism of Brahmans over the material pantheism of the *Buddhists*. Metempsychosis and absorption are common to both.

* One comment on the comment says, *A'tma* here means *sthan* or *alaya,* i. e. the *ubi* of creation, &c.

† *Akash* is here understood as synonymous with *Sunyata,* that is, as the elemental state of all things, the universal ubi and modus of primal entity, in a state of abstraction from all specific forms: and it is worthy of note, that amidst these primal principles, intelligence has admission. It is therefore affirmed to be a necessary end, or eternal portion of the system of nature, though separated from

self-

it, is declared to be infinite. From the infinite nature of this *Akásh* were produced all moving things, each in its own time, in due procession from another, and with its proper difference of form and habits. From the secret nature of *Akásh* proceeded likewise, together with the *Vij Mantra* of each one, air with its own mobility; and from air, fire with its own heat; and from fire, water with its intrinsical coldness; and from water, earth with its own proper solidity or heaviness; and from earth, Mount *Suméru* with its own substance of gold, or with its own sustaining power *(Dhátwátmika)*; and from *Suméru*, all the various kinds of trees and vegetables; and from them, all the variety of colours, shapes, flavours, and fragrances, in leaves, flowers, and fruits. Each derived its essential property (as of fire to burn) from itself; and the order of its procession into existence from the one precedent, by virtue of *Swabháva*, operating in time. The several manners of going peculiar to the six classes of animate beings (four-légged, two-legged, &c.) and their several modes of birth, (oviparous, &c.*) all proceeded from *Swabháva*. From the *Swabháva* of each mansion or habitat (*Bhavana*) resulted the differences existing between the several abodes of all the six orders of animate beings. The existence of the fœtus in the womb proceeds from the *Swabháva* of the union of male and female;

self-consciousness or personality. In the same manner, *Prajna*, the sum of all things, Diva natura, is declared to be eternal, and essentially intelligent, though a material principle.

* By etcætera, understand *always* (more Brahmanorum). That *Buddhism* forms an integral part of the Indian philosophy is sufficiently proved by the multitude of terms and classifications common to it, and to Brahmanism. The theogony and cosmogony of the latter are expressly those of the former, with sundry additions only, which serve to prove the posteriority of date, and schismatical secession, of the *Buddhists*. M. Cousin, in his course of philosophy, notices the absence of a sceptical school amongst the Indian philosophers. *Buddhism*, when fully explained, will supply the desideratum; and I would here notice the precipitation with which we are now constantly drawing general conclusions relative to the scope of Indian speculation, from a knowledge of the Brahmanical writings only—writings equalled or surpassed in number and value by those of the *Buddhists*, *Jains*, and other dissenters from the existing orthodox system of *Vyasa* and *Sankara Acharya*.

and its gradual growth and assumption of flesh, bones, skin, and organs, is caused by the joint energy of the *Swabháva* of the fœtus, and that of time, or the *Swabháva* of the fœtus, operating in time. The procession of all things from birth, through gradual increase, to maturity, and thence, through gradual decay, to death, results spontaneously from the nature of each being; as do the differences appropriated to the faculties of the senses and of the mind, and to those external things and internal, which are perceived by them. Speech and sustenance from dressed food in mankind, and the want of speech and the eating of grass in quadrupeds, together with the birth of birds from eggs, of insects from sweat, and of the Gods (*Devatás*) without parentage of any sort: all these marvels proceed from *Swabháva*. (Comment on the *Pujá kand*, quotation 12.)

### *The* Aiswarika *System.*

1. The self-existent God is the sum of perfections, infinite, eternal, without members or passions; one with all things (in *Pravritti*), and separate from all things (in *Nirvritti*), infiniformed and formless, the essence of *Pravritti* and of *Nirvritti*.* (*Swayambhú Purána.*)

2. He whose image is *Súnyáta*, who is like a cypher or point, infinite, unsustained (in *Nirvritti*), and sustained (in *Pravritti*), whose essence is *Nirvritti*, of whom all things are forms (*in Pravritti,*) and who is yet formless (in *Nirvritti*), who is the *Iswara*, the first intellectual essence, the *A'di-Buddha*, was revealed by his own will. This self-existent is he whom all know as the only true Being; and, though the state of *Nirvritti* be his proper and enduring state, yet, for the sake of *Pravritti*, (creation), having become *Pancha-jnyánátmika*, he produced the five *Buddhas* thus; from *Suvi-suddha-dharma-dhátuja jnyán*, *Vairo chana*, the supremely wise, from whom proceed the element of earth, the sight,

* *Pravritti*, the versatile universe; *Nirvritti*, its opposite, this world and the next. *Pravritti* is compounded of *Pra*, an intensitive, and *vritti*, action, occupation, from the root *va*, to blow as the wind; *Nirvritti*, of *Nir*, a privative, and *vritti*, as before.

and colours; and from *Adarshana-jnyán*, *Akshobhya*, from whom proceed the element of water, the faculty of hearing, and all sounds; and from *Pratyavekshana-jnyán*, *Ratna Sambhava*, from whom proceed the element of fire, the sense of smell, and all odours; and from *Samta-jnyán*, *Amitábha*, from whom proceed the element of air, the sense of taste, and all savours; and from *Krityanushtha-jnyán*, *Amogha Siddha*, from whom proceed the element of *ether*, the faculty of touch, and all the sensible properties of outward things dependent thereon. All these five *Buddhas* are *Pravritti kámang*, or the authors of creation. They possess the five *jnyans*, the five colours, the five *mudras*, and the five vehicles.* The five elements, five senses, and five respective objects of sense, are forms of them.† And these five *Buddhas* each produced a *Bodhi-Satwa*, (for the detail, see Asiatic Society's Transactions, vol. xvi.) The five *Bodhi-Satwas* are *Srishtikámang*, or the immediate agents of creation; and each, in his turn, having become *Sarvaguna*, (invested with all qualities, or invested with the three *gunas*,) produced all things by his fiat. (Comment on quot. 1.)

3. All things existent (in the versatile universe) proceed from some cause (*hétu*): that cause is the *Tathágata*‡ (*A'di-Buddha*); and that which is the cause of (versatile) existence is the cause

* See Appendix A.

† The five *Dhyani Buddhas* are said to be *Pancha Bhuta*, *Pancha Indriya*, and *Pancha Ayatan akar*. Hence my conjecture that they are mere personifications, according to a theistic theory of the phænomena of the sensible world. The 6th *Dhyani Buddha* is, in like manner, the icon and source of the 6th sense, and its object, or *Manasa* and *Dharma*, i. e. the sentient principle, soul of the senses, or internal sense, and moral and intellectual phænomena. In the above passage, however, the association of the five elements is not the most accredited one, which (for example) associates hearing and sounds to *Akash*.

‡ This important word is compounded of *Tatha*, thus, and *gata*, gone or got, and is explained in three ways. 1st, thus got or obtained, viz. the rank of a *Tathagata*, obtained by observance of the rules prescribed for the acquisition of perfect wisdom, of which acquisition, total cessation of births is the efficient consequence. 2nd, thus gone, viz. the *mundane* existence of the *Tathagata*, gone

so

of the cessation or extinction of all (such) existence: so said *Sákya Sinha.* (*Bhadra Kalpavadan.*)

4. Body is compounded of the five elements: soul, which animates it, is an emanation from the self-existent. (*Swayambhu purána.*)

5. Those who have suffered many torments in this life, and have even burned in hell, shall, if they piously serve the *Tri Ratna* (or *Triad*), escape from the evils of both. (*Avadán Kalpalatá.*)

6. SUBANDU (a Rája of Benares) was childless. He devoted

so *as never to return*, mortal births having been closed, and *Nirvritti* obtained, by perfection of knowledge. 3rd, gone in the same manner as it or they (birth or births) came; the sceptical and necessitarian conclusion of those who held that both metempsychosis and absorption are beyond our intellect (as objects of knowledge), and independent of our efforts (as objects of desire and aversion—as contingencies to which we are liable); and that *that* which causes births, causes likewise (proprio vigore) the ultimate cessation of them. The epithet *Tathagata*, therefore, can only be applied to *A'di-Buddha*, the self-existent, who is never incarnated, in a figurative, or at least a restricted, sense;—cessation of human births being the essence of what it implies. I have seen the question and answer, 'what is the *Tathagata?* It does not come again,' proposed and solved by the *Raksha Bhaguvati*, in the very spirit and almost in the words of the *Vedas*. One of a thousand proofs that have occurred to me how thoroughly Indian *Buddhism* is. *Tathagata*, thus gone, or gone as he came, as applied to *A'di-Buddha*, alludes to his voluntary secession from the versatile world into that of abstraction, of which no mortal can predicate, more than that his departure and his advent are *alike* simple results of his volition. Some authors substitute this interpretation, exclusively applicable to *A'di-Buddha*, for the third sceptical and general interpretation above given. The synonyme *Sugata*, or 'well gone, for ever quit of versatile existence,' yet further illustrates the ordinary meaning of the word *Tathagata*, as well as the ultimate scope and genius of the *Buddhist* religion, of which the end is, freedom from metempsychosis; and the means, perfect and absolute enlightenment of the understanding, and consequent discovery of the grand secret of nature. What that grand secret, that ultimate truth, that single reality, is, whether all is God, or God is all, seems to be the sole propositum of the oriental philosophic religionists, who have all alike sought to discover it by taking the high priori road. That God is all, appears to be the prevalent and dogmatic determination of the Brahmanists; that all is God, the preferential but sceptical solution of the *Buddhists;* and, in a large view, I believe it would be difficult to indicate any further essential difference between their theoretic systems, both, as I conceive, the unquestionable growth of the Indian soil, and both founded upon transcendental speculations, conducted in the very same style and manner.

himself to the worship of *Iswara* (*A'di Buddha ;*) and by the grace of *Iswara* a sugar-cane was produced from his semen, from which a son was born to him. The race* remains to this day, and is called Ikshava Aku. (*Avadán Kalpalatá.*)

7. When all was void, perfect void, (*Súnya, Mahá Súnya*) the triliteral syllable *Aum* became manifest, the first created, the ineffably splendid, surrounded by all the radical letters (*Vijá Akshara*), as by a necklace. In that *Aum*, he who is present in all things, formless and passionless, and who possesses the *Tri Ratna*, was produced by his own will. To him I make adoration. (*Swayambhu purána*).

*The Kármika System.*

1. From the union of *Upáya* and *Prajná*,† arose *Manas*, the lord of the senses, and from *Manas* proceeded the ten virtues and the ten vices; so said *Sákya Sinha.* (*Divya Avadan.*)

2. The being of all things is derived from belief, reliance, (*pratyaya,*) in this order: from false knowledge, delusive impression; from delusive impression, general notions; from them, particulars; from them, the six seats (or outward objects) of the senses; from them, contact; from it, definite sensation and perception; from it, thirst or desire; from it, embryotic (physical) existence; from it, birth or actual physical existence; from it, all the distinctions of genus and species among animate things; from them, decay and death, after the manner and period peculiar to each. Such is the procession of all things into existence from *Avidya,* or delusion: and in the inverse order to that of their procession, they retrograde into non-existence. And the egress and regress are both *Karmas,*

* That of *Sakya Sinha,* and said by the *Buddhists* to belong to the solar line of Indian Princes. Nor is it any proof of the contrary, that the *Pauranika* genealogies exhibit no trace of this race. Those genealogies have been altered again and again, to suit current prejudices or partialities. The Brahmans who obliterated throughout India every vestige of the splendid and extensive literature of the *Buddhas,* would have little scruple in expunging from their own sacred books the royal lineage of the great founder of *Buddhism.*

† See the note on quotation 6 of the section *A'di Sangha.* Also the note on quotation 1 of the *Yatnika* system.

wherefore this system is called *Kármika.* (*Sákya* to his disciples in the *Racha Bhagavatí.*)

3. The existence of the versatile world is derived sheerly from fancy or imagination, or belief in its reality; and this false notion is the first *Karma* of *Manas*, or first act of the sentient principle, as yet unindividualized? and unembodied. This belief of the unembodied sentient principle in the reality of a mirage is attended with a longing after it, and a conviction of its worth and reality; which longing is called *Sanscár*, and constitutes the second *Karma* of *Manas.* When *Sanscár* becomes excessive, incipient individual, consciousness arises (third *Karma*); then proceeds an organised and definite, but archetypal body, the seat of that consciousness, (fourth *Karma*); from the last results the existence of [the six sensible and cognizable properties of] natural* objects, moral and physical, (fifth *Karma.*) When the archetypally embodied sentient principle comes to exercise itself on these properties of things, then definite perception or knowledge is produced, as that this is white, the other, black; this is right, the other wrong, (sixth *Karma.*) Thence arises desire or worldly affection in the archetypal body, (seventh *Karma,*) which leads to corporeal conception, (eighth,) and that to physical birth, (ninth.) From birth result the varieties of genus and species distinguishing animated

* So I render, after much inquiry, the *Shad Ayatan*, or six seats of the senses external and internal; and which are in detail as follows: *Rupa, Savda, Ganda, Rasa, Sparsa, Dharma.* There is an obvious difficulty as to *Sparsa*, and some also as to *Dharma.* The whole category of the *Ayatans* expresses *outward* things: and after much investigation, I gather, that under *Rupa* is comprised not only colour, but form too, so far as its discrimination (or, in *Karmika* terms, its existence) depends on sight; and that *all* other *un*specified properties of body are referred to *Sparsa*, which therefore includes not only temperature, roughness, and smoothness, and hardness, and its opposite, but also gravity, and even extended figure, though not extension in the abstract.

Here we have not merely the secondary or sensible properties of matter, but also the primary ones; and, as the *existence* of the *Ayotans* or outward objects perceived, is said to be derived from the *Indriyas*, (or from *Manas*, which is their collective energy,) in other words, to be derived from the sheer exercise of the percipient powers the Karmika system amounts to idealism. Nor is there any difficulty thence arising in reference to the *Karmika* doctrine, which clearly affirms that theory by its derivation

nature, (tenth *Karma*,) and thence come decay and death in the time and manner peculiar to each, (eleventh and final *Karma.*) Such is the evolution of all things in *Pravritti;* opposed to which is *Nirvritti*, and the recurrence of *Nirvritti* is the sheer consequence of the abandonment of all absurd ideas respecting the reality and stability of *Pravritti*, or, which is the same thing, the abandonment of *Avidya:* for, when *Avidya* is relinquished or overcome, *Sanscára* and all the rest of the *Karmas* or acts of the sentient principle, vanish with it; and also, of course, all mundane things and existences, which are thence only derived. Now, therefore, we see that *Pravritti* or the versatile world is the consequence of affection for a shadow, in the belief that it is a substance; and *Nirvritti* is the consequence of an abandonment of all such affection and belief. And *Pravritti* and *Nirvritti*, which divide the universe, are *Karmas;* wherefore the system is called *Kármika.* (Comment on Quotation 2.)

4. Since the world is produced by the *Karma* of *Manas*, or

rivation of all things from *Pratyaya* (belief), or from *Avidya* (ignorance). But the *Indriyas* and *Ayatans*, with their *necessary connexion*, (and, possibly, also, the making *Avidya* the source of all things,) belong likewise to one section at least of the *Swabhavika* school; and, in regard to it, it will require a nice hand to exhibit this Berkleyan notion existing co-ordinately with the leading tenet of the *Swabhavikas.* In the way of explanation I may observe, first, that the denial of material entity involved in the *Indriya* and *Ayatan* theory (as in that of *Avidya*) respects solely the versatile world of *Pravritti*, or of specific *forms merely*, and does not touch the *Nirvrittika* state of formative powers and of primal substances, to which latter, in that condition, the qualities of gravity, and even of extended figure, in any sense cognizable by human faculties, are denied, at the same time, that the real and even eternal existence of those substances, in that state, is affirmed.

Second, though *Dharma*, the sixth *Ayatan*, be rendered by virtue, the appropriated object of the internal sense, it must be remembered, that most of the *Swabhavikas*, whilst they deny a moral ruler of the universe, affirm the existence of morality as a part of the system of nature. Others again (the minority) of the *Swabhavikas* reject the sixth *Indriya*, and sixth *Ayatan*, and, with them, the sixth *Dhyani Buddha*, or *Vajra Satwa*, who, by the way, is the *Magnus Apollo* of the *Tantrikas*, a sect the mystic and obscene character of whose ritual is redeemed by its unusually explicit enunciation and acknowledgment of a "God above all."

The published explanations of the procession of all things from *Avidya* appear to me irreconcilably to conflict with the ideal basis of the theory.

sheer act of the sentient principle, it is therefore called *Kármika.* The manner of procession of all things into existence is thus. From the union of *Upáya* and of *Prájna, Manas* proceeded; and from *Manas, Avidya;* and from *Avidya, Sanscár;* and from *Sanseár, Vijnyána;* and from *Vijnyána, Námarúpa;* and from *Námarúpa,* the *Shad Ayatan;** and from them, *Vedana;* and from it, *Trishna;* and from it, *Upadân;* and from it, *Bhava;* and from it, *Jati;* and from it, *Jaramarana.* And from *Játirupya Manas,* (i. e. the sentient principle in organized animate beings) emanated the ten virtues and ten vices. And as men's words and deeds partake of the character of the one or the other, is their lot disposed, felicity being inseparably bound to virtue, and misery to vice, by the very nature of *Karma.*

Such is the procession of all things into existence from *Manas* through *Avidyá;* and when *Avidyá* ceases, all the rest cease with it. Now, since *Avidyá* is a false knowledge, and is also the medium of all mundane existence, when it ceases, the world vanishes; and *Manas,* relieved from its illusion, is absorbed into *Upáya Prajna.*† *Pravritti* is the state of things under the influence of *Avidyá;* and the cessation of *Avidyá* is *Nirvritti: Právritti* and *Nirvritti* are both *Karmas.* (Another comment on Quot. 2.)

5. The actions of a man's former births constitute his destiny.‡ (*Punya paroda.*)

6. He who has received from nature such wisdom as to read

* i. e. colour, odour, savour, sound, the properties dependent on touch, (which are hardness, and its opposite, temperature, roughness and smoothness, and also I believe gravity and extended figure,) and lastly, right and wrong. They are called the seats of the six senses, the five ordinary, and one internal. In this quotation I have purposely retained the original terms. Their import may be gathered from the immediately preceding quotations and note, which the curious may compare with Mr. Colebrooke's explication. See his paper on the *Bauddha* philosophy, apud Trans. Roy. As. Socy. quarto vol.

† The *Vamacharas* say, into *Prajna Upaya:* see note on quotation 6 of the section *A'di Sangha.*

‡ *Daivya,* identified with *A'di Buddha* by the theistic, and with Fate, by the atheistic doctors. The precise equivalent of the maxim itself is our 'conduct is fate.'

his own heart, and those of all others, even he cannot erase the characters which *Vidhátri** has written on his forehead. (*Avadan Kalpalatá.*)

7. As the faithful servant walks behind his master when he walks, and stands behind him when he stands, so every animate being is bound in the chains of *Karma.* (Ditto.)

8. *Karma* accompanies every one, every where, every instant, through the forest, and across the ocean, and over the highest mountains, into the heaven of *Indra*, and into *Pátála* (hell); and no power can stay it. (Ditto.)

9. KANAL, son of king ASOKA, because in one birth he plucked out the golden eyes from a *Chaitya*,† had his own eyes plucked out in the next; and because he in that birth bestowed a pair of golden eyes on a *Chaitya*, received himself in the succeeding birth eyes of unequalled splendour. (*Avadan Kalpalatá.*)

10. SAKYA SINHA's son, named RA'HULA BHADRA, remained six years in the womb of his mother YASODRA. The pain and anxiety of mother and son were caused by the *Karmas* of their former births. (Ditto.)

11. Although I had required (*Sákya* speaks of himself) a perfect body, still, even in this body, defect again appeared; because I had yet to expiate a small residue of the sins of former births. (*Lallita Vistara.*)

* *Bramha*, but here understood to be *Karma.*

† *Chaitya* is the name of the tomb temples or relic-consecrated churches of the *Buddhists*. The essential part of the structure is the lower hemisphere: above this a square basement or *Toran* always supports the acutely conical or pyramidal superstructure, and on all four sides of that basement two eyes are placed. Wherever the lower hemisphere is found, is indisputable evidence of *Buddhism*, e. g. 'the topes' of *Manikulaya* and of *Peshawar*. In niches at the base of the hemisphere are frequently enshrined four of the five *Dhyani Buddhas*, one opposite to each cardinal point. *Akshobhya* occupies the eastern niche; *Ratna sambhava*, the southern; *Amitabha*, the western, and *Amoghasiddha*, the northern. *Vairochana*, the first *Dhyani Buddha*, is supposed to occupy the centre, invisibly. Sometimes, however, he appears visibly, being placed at the right-hand of *Akshobhya*.

*The Yátnika System.*

1. *Iswara* (*A'di Buddha*) produced *Yatna* from *Prajna*;* and the cause of *Pravritti* and *Nirvritti* is *Yatna*; and all the difficulties that occur in the affairs of this world and the next are vanquished by *Yatna* (or conscious intellectual effort.) (*Divya Avadan.*)

2. That above mentioned *Iswara*, by means of *Yatna*, produced the five *Jnyáns*, whence sprang the five *Buddhas*. The five *Buddhas*, in like manner, (i. e. by means of *Yatna*,) produced the five *Bodhi satwas*: and they again, by the same means, created the greater *Devatás* from their bodies, and the lesser ones, from the hairs of their bodies. In like manner, BRAHMA created the three *Lokas*† and all moving and motionless things. Among mortals, all difficulties are overcome by *Yatna*; for example, those of the sea by ships, those of illness by medicine, those of travelling by equipages—and want of paper, by prepared skin and bark of trees. And as all our worldly obstacles are removed by *Yatna*, so the wisdom which wins *Nirvritti* for us is the result of *Yatna*; because by it alone are charity and the rest of the virtues acquired. Since therefore all the goods of this world and of the next depend upon *Yatna*, SAKYA SINHA wandered from region to region to teach mankind that cardinal truth. (Comment on Quotation 1.)

3. That *A'di Buddha*, whom the *Swabhávikas* call *Swabháva*, and the *Aiswárikas*, *Iswara*,‡ produced a *Bodhi satwa*, who, having migrated through the three worlds, and through all six forms of animate existence, and experienced the goods and evils of every state of being, appeared, at last, as *Sákya Sinha*, to teach

* This, as I conceive, is an attempt to remedy that cardinal defect of the older *Swabhavika* school, viz. the denial of personality, and conscious power and wisdom in the first cause. To the same effect is the *Karmika* assertion, that MANAS proceeded from the union of *Upaya* and *Prajna*. *Karma* I understand to mean conscious moral effort, and *Yatna*, conscious intellectual effort. Their admission in respect to human nature implies its *free will*, as their assignation to the divine nature implies its *personality*.

† The celestial, terrene, and infernal divisions of the versatile universe.

‡ Passages of this entirely pyrrhonic tenure incessantly recur in the oldest and highest authorities of the *Buddhists*; hence the assertion of the preface that Sugatism is rather sceptical than atheistically dogmatic.

mankind the real sources of happiness and misery, and the doctrines of the four schools of philosophy;* and then, by means of *Yatna*, having obtained *Bodhi-jnyán*, and having fulfilled all the *Páramitás* (transcendental virtues,) he at length became *Nirván*. (*Divya Avadán.*)

4. Sakya Sinha, having emanated from that self-existent, which, according to some, is *Swabháva*, and according to others, is *Iswara*, was produced for the purpose of preserving all creatures. He first adopted the *Pravritti Márga* (secular character,) and in several births exercised *Yatna* and *Karma*, reaping the fruits of his actions in all the three worlds. He then exercised *Yatna* and *Karma* in the *Nirvritti Márga* (ascetical or monastic character) essaying a release from this mortal coil, fulfilling the ten virtues from the *Satya* to the *Dwápara Yuga*, till at last, in the *Kali Yuga*, having completely freed himself from sublunary cares, having become a *Bhikshuka*,† and gone to *Buddh Gyá*, he rejected and reviled the Bráhmanical penance, did all sorts of true penance for six years under the tree of knowledge on banks of the *Niranjana* river; conquered the *Namuchimara*,‡ obtained *Bodhi-jnyán*, became the most perfect of the *Buddhas*, seated himself among the *Bodhi satwas*, (*Ananda* '*Bhikshu*' and the rest,) granted wisdom to the simple, fulfilled the desires of millions of people, and gave *Moksha*§ to them and to himself. (*Lallita Vistára.*)

5. A hare fell in with a tiger: by means of *Yatna* the hare threw the tiger into a well. Hence it appears that *Yatna* prevails over physical force, knowledge, and the *Mantras*. (*Bhadra Kalpavadan.*)

* Expressly called in the comment the *Swabhavika*, *Aiswarika*, *Yatnika*, and *Karmika* systems. I find no authority in *Saugata* books for the Brahminical nomenclature of the *Bauddha* philosophical schools.

† Mendicant: one of the four regular orders of the *Bauddhas*. See the Preface.

‡ A *Daitya* of *Kanchanapara*, personification of the principle of evil. *Bodhijnyan* is the wisdom of *Buddhism*. Ananda was one of the first and ablest of Sakya's disciples. The first *code* of *Buddhism* is attributed to him.

§ Emancipation, absorption.

6. NARA SINHA (Rája of Benares) was a monster of cruelty. SATTA SWAMA *Rája*, by means of *Yatna*, compelled him to deliver up 100 *Rájkumárs*, whom NARA SINHA had destined for a sacrifice to the gods. (*Bhadra Kalpavadan.*)

7. SUDHANA KUMARA found a beautiful daughter of a horse-faced Rája named DRUMA. By means of *Yatna* he carried her off, and kept her; and was immortalized for the exploit. (*Swayambhu Purána.*)

## *A'di Buddha.*

1. Know that when, in the beginning, all was perfect void (*Mahá sunyáta*,*) and the five elements were not, then *A'di Buddha*, the stainless, was revealed in the form of flame or light.

2. He in whom are the three *gunas*, who is the *Mahá Múrti*, and the *Visvarúpa* (form of all things,) became manifest: he is the self-existent great *Buddha*, the *A'di náth*, the *Mahéswara*.

3. He is the cause of all existences in the three worlds; the cause of their well being also. From his profound meditation (*Dhyán*,) the universe was produced by him.

4. He is the self-existent, the *Iswara*, the sum of perfections, the infinite, void of members or passions: all things are types of him, and yet he was no type: he is the form of all things, and yet formless.

* The doctrine of *Sunyata* is the darkest corner of the metaphysical labyrinth. 18 kinds of *Sunyata* are enumerated in the *Raksha Bhagavati.* I understand it to mean generally space, which some of *our* philosophers have held to be plenum, others a vacuum. In the transcendental sense of the *Buddhists*, it signifies not merely the universal *ubi*, but also the *modus existendi* of all things in the state of quiescence and abstraction from phœnomenal being. The *Buddhists* have eternised matter or nature in *that* state. The energy of nature ever *is*, but is not ever *exerted;* and when not *exerted*, it is considered to be void of all those qualities which necessarily imply perishableness. Most of the *Buddhists* deem (upon different grounds) all phœnomena to be as purely illusory as do the Vedantists. The phœnomena of the latter are sheer energies of God; those of the former are sheer energies of Nature, deified and substituted for God. See note on quot. six of this section *A'di Sangha.* The *Aiswarikas* put their *A'di Buddha* in place of the nature of the older *Swabhavikas.* See Journal of As. Soc. No. 33, Art. 1.

5. He is without parts, shapeless, self-sustained, void of pain and care, eternal and not eternal;* him I salute. (*Káranda Vyúha.*)

6. *A'di Buddha* is without beginning. He is perfect, pure within, the essence of the wisdom of thatness, or absolute truth. He knows all the past. His words are ever the same.

7. He is without second. He is omnipresent. He is the *Nairatmya* lion to the *Kútirtha* deer.† (*Nam sangti.*)

8. I make salutation to *A'di Buddha*, who is one and sole in the universe; who gives every one *Bodhi-jnyán;* whose name is *Upáya;* who became manifest in the greatest *Sunyáta*, as the letter A. Who is the *Tathagata;* who is known only to those who have attained the wisdom of absolute truth. (Ditto.)

9. As in the mirror we mortals see our forms reflected, so *A'di Buddha* is known (in *Pravritti*) by the 32 *lakshanas* and 80 *anuvinjanas.* (Ditto.)

10. As the rainbow, by means of its five colours, forewarns mortals of the coming weather, so does *A'di Buddha* admonish the world of its good and evil actions by means of his five essential colours.‡ (Ditto.)

11. *A'di Buddha* delights in making happy every sentient being; he tenderly loves those who serve him. His majesty fills all with reverence and awe. He is the assuager of pain and grief. (Ditto.)

* One in *Nirvritti;* the other in *Pravritti;* and so of all the preceding contrasted epithets. *Nirvritti* is quiescence and abstraction: *Pravritti*, action and concretion. All the schools admit these two modes, and thus solve the difficulty of different properties existing in cause and in effects.

† Comment says, that *Nairatmya* is '*Sarva Dharmanam nirabhas lakshanang;*' and that *Tirtha* means *Moksha*, and *Katirtha*, any perversion of the doctrine of *Moksha*, as to say it consists in absorption into *Brahm:* and it explains the whole thus, 'He thunders in the ears of all those who misinterpret *Moksha;* there is no true *Moksha*, but *Sunyata.*' Another comment gives the sense thus, dividing the sentence into two parts, 'There is no *atma* (life or soul) without him: he alarms the wicked as the lion the deer.' The first commentator is a *Swobhavika;* the second, an *Aiswarika* one.

‡ White, blue, yellow, red, and green, assigned to the five *Dhyani Buddhas.*

For a detail of the *lakshanas, anuvinjanas, balas, basitas,* &c. of the neighbouring quotations, see Appendix A.

12. He is the possessor of the 10 virtues; the giver of the 10 virtues; the lord of the 10 heavens; lord of the Universe; present in the 10 heavens. (Ditto.)

13. By reason of the 10 *jnyáns*, his soul is enlightened. He too is the enlightener of the 10 *jnyáns*. He has 10 forms and 10 significations, and 10 strengths, and 10 *basitas*. He is omnipresent, the chief of the *Munis*. (Ditto.)

14. He has five bodies, and five *jnyáns*, and five sights; is the *múkat* of the five *Buddhas*, without partner. (Ditto.)

15. He is the creator of all the *Buddhas:* the chief of the *Bodhi satwas* are cherished by him. He is the creator of *Prajná*, and of the world; himself unmade. *Aliter*, he made the world by the assistance of *Prajná;* himself unmade. He is the author of virtue, the destroyer of all things.* (Ditto.)

16. He is the essence of all essences. He is the *Vajra-átma*. He is the instantly-produced lord of the universe; the creator of *Akásh*. He assumes the form of fire, by reason of the *Prajnya-rupi-jnyán*, to consume the straw of ignorance. (Ditto.)

### *A'di Prajná, or Dharma.*

1. I salute that *Prajná Paramitá*, who by reason of her omniscience causes the tranquillity-seeking *Srávakas*† to obtain absorption; who, by her knowledge of all the ways of action, causes each to go in the path suited to his genius, of whom wise men have said, that the external and internal diversities belonging to all animate nature, as produced by her, who is the mother of *Buddha* (*Buddha Mátra*) of that *Buddha* to whose service all the *Srávakas* and *Bodhi-satwas* dedicate themselves. (*Pancha-vingsati Sahasrika.*)

* The comment on this passage is very full, and very curious, in as much as it reduces many of these supreme deities to mere *parts of speech*. Here is the summing up of the comment: 'He (*A'di Buddha*) is the instructor of the *Buddhas* and of the *Bodhi-satwas*. He is known by the knowledge of spiritual wisdom. He is the creator and destroyer of all things, the fountain of virtue.' Spiritual wisdom is stated to consist of *Sila*, *Samadhi*, *Prajna*, *Vimukhti*, and *Jnyan*.

† Name of one of the ascetical orders of *Buddhists*. See Preface.

2. First air, then fire, then water, then earth,* and in the centre of earth, *Suméru*, the sides of which are the residence of the 33 millions of gods (*Devatás*,) and above these, upon a *Lotos* of precious stones, sustaining the mansion of the moon (or a moon-crescent) sits *Prajná Paramitá*, in the *Lallita-ásan* manner;† *Prajná*, the mother of all the gods (*Prasú-bhagavatáng*,) and without beginning or end, (*anádyant.*) (*Bhadra Kalpavadán.*)

3. I make salutation to the *Prajná Deví*, who is the *Prajná Paramitá*, the *Prajná rupa*, the *Nir rupa*, and the universal mother. (*Pujá kand.*)

4. Thou *Prajná* art, like *Akásh*, intact and intangible; thou art above all human wants; thou art established by thy own power. He who devoutly serves thee serves the *Tathágata* also. (*Ashta Sahasrika.*)

5. Thou mighty object of my worship! thou *Prajná*, art the sum of all good qualities; and *Buddha* is the *Gúrú* of the world. The wise make no distinction between thee and *Buddha*. (*Ashta Sahasrika.*)

6. O thou who art merciful to thy worshippers, the benevolent, knowing thee to be the source of *Bauddha* excellence, attain perfect happiness by the worship of thee! (Ditto.)

7. Those *Buddhas* who are merciful, and the *Gúrús* of the world, all such *Buddhas* are thy children. Thou art all good, and the universal mother (*Sakaljagat Pitá Mahi.*) (Ditto.)

8. Every *Buddha* assembling his disciples instructs them how from unity thou becomest multiformed and many named. (Ditto.)

9. Thou comest not from any place, thou goest not to any place. Do the wise nowhere find thee?‡ (Ditto.)

* In this enumeration of material elements, *Akash* is omitted: but it is mentioned, and most emphatically, in quot. 4, as in the 50 other places quoted. In like manner, the five elements are frequently mentioned, without allusion to the 6th, which however occurs in fit places. Omission of this sort is no denial.

† i. e, one leg tucked under the other, advanced and resting on the bow of the moon-crescent.

‡ The force of the question is this, the wise certainly find thee.

10. The *Buddhas, Pratyéka Buddhas,* and *Srávakas,** have all devoutly served thee. By thee alone is absorption obtained. These are truths revealed in all *Shástras.* (Ditto.)

11. What tongue can utter thy praises, thou of whose being (or manifestation) there is no cause but thy own will. No *Purána* hath revealed any attribute by which thou mayest certainly be known. (Ditto.)

12. When all was *Sunyáta, Prájná Devi* was revealed out of *Akásh* with the letter U; *Prájná,* the mother of all the *Buddhas* and *Bodhi-satwas,* in whose heart *Dharma* ever resides; *Prájná,* who is without the world and the world's wisdom, full of the wisdom of absolute truth: the giver and the ikon of that wisdom; the ever living (*Sanatani*); the inscrutable; the mother of *Buddha.*† (*Pujá kand.*)

13. O *Prájná Dévi!* thou art the mother (*Janani*) of all the *Buddhas,* the grandmother of the *Bodhi-satwas,* and great grandmother of all (other) creatures! thou art the goddess (*Isáni.*) (Ditto.)

14. Thou, *Sri Bhagavati Dévi Prájná,* art the sum of all the sciences, the mother of all the *Buddhas,* the enlightener of *Bodhi-jnyán,* the light of the universe! (*Gunakáranda Vyúha.*)

15. The humbler of the pride of *Namuchi-mára,* and of all proud ones: the giver of the quality of *Satya;* the possessor of all the sciences, the *Lakshmi;* the protector of all mortals, such is the *Dharma Ratna.* (Ditto.)

16. All that the *Buddhas* have said, as contained in the *Mahá Yána Sútra* and the rest of the *Sútras,* is also *Dharma Ratna.*‡ (Ditto.)

* The *Buddhas* are of three grades: the highest is *Maha Yana,* the medial, *Pratyeka,* and the lowest, *Sravaka.* These three grades are called collectively the *Tri-Yana,* or three chariots, bearing their possessors to transcendental glory.

† *Sugatja,* which the *Vamachars* render, 'of whom *Buddha* was born;' the *Dakshinachars,* 'born of *Buddha,*' or goer to *Buddha,*' as wife to husband.

‡ Hence the scriptures are worshipped as forms of *A'di Dharma Sutra,* means literally thread (of discourse,) aphorism. *Sakya,* like other Indian sages,

17. Because *Buddha* sits on the brow, the splendour thence derived to thy form illuminates all the ethereal expanse, and sheds over the three worlds the light of a million of suns, the four *Devatás*, *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, *Mahésa*, and *Indra*, are oppressed beneath thy feet, which is advanced in the *Alir-Asan*. O *Arya Tárá!* he who shall meditate on thee in this form shall be relieved from all future births. (*Saraká Dhará.**)

18. Thy manifestation, say some of the wise, is thus, from the roots of the hairs of thy body sprang *Akásh*, heaven, earth, and hades, together with their inhabitants, the greater *Devatás*, the lesser, the *Daityas*, the *Siddhás*, *Gandharbas*, and *Nagás*. So too (from thy hairs,) wonderful to tell! were produced the various mansions of the *Buddhas*, together with the thousands of *Buddhas* who occupy them.† From thy own being were formed all moving and motionless things without exception. (Ditto.)

19. Salutation to *Prájná Dévi*, from whom, in the form of desire, the production of the world was excellently obtained,‡ who is beautiful as the full moon, the mother of *A'di Buddha*, (*Jinindra Matra*,) and wife of (the other) *Buddha*, who is imperishable as *adamant*. (*Sádhana Mála.*)

sages, taught orally, and it is doubtful if he himself reduced his doctrines to a written code, though the great scriptures of the sect are now generally attributed to him. *Sutra* is now the title of the *books* of highest authority among the *Bauddhas*.

* Composed by *Sarvajna Mitrapada* of *Kashmir*, and in very high esteem, though not of scriptural authority.

† These thousands of *Buddhas* of immortal mould are somewhat opposed to the so called simplicity of *Buddhism !!* whatever were the primitive doctrines of *Sakya*, it is certain that the system attributed to him, and now found in the written authorities of the sect, is the very antipodes of simplicity.

‡ *Dharmadya-sangata Kamrupini*, variously rendered, 'well got from the rise of virtue,' 'well got from the rise or origin of the world;' also as in text, *Dharmaddya*, the source of all things, signifies likewise the *Yoni*, of which the type is a triangle. See 20. The triangle is a familiar symbol in temples of the *Buddha Saktis*, and of the *Triad*. ▲ The point in the midst represents either *A'di Buddha* or *A'di Prajna*, according to the theistic or atheistic tendency of his opinions who uses it. Our commentator is of the *Vamachar* or Atheistic school, and such also is his text.

20. That *Yoni*, from which the world was made manifest, is the *Tríkonákar Yantra*. In the midst of the *Yantra* or *tríkon* (triangle) is a *bindú* (point, cypher): from that *bindú*, *A'di Prájná* revealed herself by her own will. From one side of the triangle *A'di Prájná* produced *Buddha*, and from another side, *Dharma*, and from the third side, *Sangha*. That *A'di Prájná* is the mother of that *Buddha* who issued from the first side; and *Dharma*, who issued from the second side, is the wife of the *Buddha* of the first side, and the mother of the other *Buddhas*. (Comment on quotation 19.)

21. Salutation to *Prájná Páramitá*, the infinite, who, when all was void, was revealed by her own will, out of the letter U. *Prájná*, the *Sakti* of *Upáya*, the sustainer of all things, (*Dharmiki*) the mother of the world, (*Jagat-mátra;*) the *Dhyán-rúpa*, the mother of the *Buddhas*. The modesty of women is a form of her, and the prosperity of all earthly things. She is the wisdom of mortals, and the ease, and the joy, and the emancipation, and the knowledge. *Prájná* is present every where. (*Sádhana Mála.*)

### *A'di Sangha.*

1. That *A'mitabha*, by virtue of his *Samta-jnyán*, created the *Bodhi-satwa* named *Padma-páni*, and committed to his hands the *lotos.** (*Gunakáranda Vyáha.*)

2. From between his (*Padma-páni's*) shoulders sprang *Brahma;* from his forehead, *Mahá Déva;* from his two eyes, the sun

* Type of creative power. *A'mitabha* is the 4th *Dhyani* or celestial *Buddha:* *Padma-pani* is his *Æon* and executive minister. *Padma-pani* is the *præsens Divus* and creator of the *existing* system of worlds. Hence his identification with the third member of the *Triad*. He is figured as a graceful youth, erect, and bearing in either hand a *lotos* and a jewel. The last circumstance explains the meaning of the celebrated *Shadakshari Mantra*, or six-lettered invocation of him, viz. *Om! Mane padme hom!* of which so many corrupt versions and more corrupt interpretations have appeared from Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, Mongolese, and other sources. The *mantra* in question is one of three, addressed to the several members of the *Triad*. But the *præsens Divus*, whether he be Augustus or *Padma-pani*, is every thing with the many. Hence the notoriety of *this mantra*, whilst the others are hardly ever heard of, and have thus remained unknown to our travellers.

and moon; from his mouth, the air; from his teeth, *Saraswati;* from his belly, *Varuna;* from his knees, *Lakshmí;* from his feet, the earth; from his navel, water; from the roots of his hair, the *Indras* and other *Devatás.* (Ditto.)

3. For the sake of obtaining *Nirvritti,* I devote myself to the feet of *Sangha,* who, having assumed the three *Gunas,* created the three worlds. (*Pujá kand.*)

4. He (*Padma-páni*) is the possessor of *Satya Dharma,* the *Bodhi-satwa,* the lord of the world, the *Mahá-satwa,* the master of all the *Dharmas.* (*Gunakáranda Vyúha.*)

5. The lord of all worlds, (*Sarvalokádhípa,*) the *Sri-mán,* the *Dharma Rája,* the *Lokéswara,* sprang from *A'di-Buddha** (*Jinatmuja.*) Such is he whom men know for the *Sangha Ratna.* (Ditto.)

6. From the union of the essences of *Upáya* and of *Prájná*† proceeded the world, which is *Sangha.*

P. S. With regard to the consistency or otherwise of the view of the subject taken in the sketch of *Buddhism,* with the general tenor of the foregone quotations, I would observe, that the ideal theory involved in the *Prájnika, Swabhávikas,* and in the *Karmika* doctrines, was omitted by me in the sketch, from some then remain-

* From *A'mitabha Buddha* immediately: mediately from *A'di Buddha.*

† Such is the *Aiswarika* reading. The *Prajnikas* read 'from the union of *Prajna* and *Upaya.*'

With the former, *Upaya* is *A'di Buddha,* the efficient and plastic cause, or only the former; and *Prajna* is *A'di Dharma,* plastic cause, a biunity with *Buddha,* or only a product. With the latter, *Upaya* is the energy of *Prajna,* the universal material cause.

The *original* aphorism, as I believe, is, '*Prajnoupayatmakang jagata,*' which I thus translate; 'From the universal material principle, in a state of activity, proceeded the world.' This original *Sutra* has, however, undergone two transformations to suit it to the respective doctrines of the *Triadic Aiswarikas* and of the *Karmikas.* The version of the former is, *Upayprajnamakang sangha,* that of the latter is, *Upayprajnatmakang manasa.* Of both, the *Upaya* is identical with *A'di Buddha,* and the *Prajna* with *A'di Dharma.* But the result—the unsophisticated *jagat* of the *Parjnikas,* became *A'di Sangha,* a *creator,* with the *Aiswarikas;* and *Manasa,* the sentient principle in man, the first production, and *producer of all other things,* with the *Karmikas.* *Avidya,* or the condition of

ing hesitation as to its real drift, as well as its connexion with those schools, *and no other*. Upon this *exclusive* connexion I have still some doubt. For the rest, I retain unchanged the opinions expressed in the sketch, that the *Karmika* and *Yátnika* schools are more recent than the others—that they owe their origin to attempts to qualify the extravagant quietism of the primitive *Swabhávikas*, and even of the *Aiswarikas*—and that their contradistinguishing mark is the preference given by them respectively to morals, or to intellect, with a view to final beatitude. The assertion of the *Ashtasahasrika*, that *Swabháva*, or nature absolutely disposes of us, not less than the assertion of others, that an immaterial abstraction *so* disposes of us, very logically leads the author of the *Buddha Charitra* to deny the use of virtue or intellect. To oppose these ancient notions was, I conceive, the especial object of those who, by laying due stress on *Karma* and *Yatna*, gave rise to the *Kármika* and *Yátnika* schools. But that these latter entertained such just and adequate notions of God's providence, or man's free will, as we are familiar with, it is not necessary to suppose, and is altogether improbable. None such they *could* entertain if, as I believe, they adopted the more general principles of their predecessors. The ideal theory or denial of the reality of the versatile world, has, in some of its numerous phrases, a philosophical foundation; but its prevalence and popularity among the

of mundane things and existences, is an illusion, alike with the *Prajnikas* and with the *Karmikas*. But, whilst the former consider *Avidya* the universal affection of the *material* and *immediate cause* of all things whatever; the latter regard *Avidya* as an affection of *manas* merely, which they hold to be an *immaterial* principle and the *mediate* cause of all things else, *A'di Buddha* being their final cause. The phænomena of both are homogeneous and unreal: but the *Prajnikas* derive them, directly, from a material source—the *Karmikas*, indirectly, from an immaterial fount. Our sober European thoughts and languages can scarcely cope with such extravagancies as these : but it would seem we must call the one doctrine material, the other, immaterial, idealism.

The phænomena of the *Prajnikas* are sheer energies of matter, those of the *Karmikas*, are sheer (human) perceptions. The notions of the former rest on general grounds—those of the latter, on particular ones, or (as it has been phrased) upon the putting the world into a man's self; the Greek "panton metron anthropos."

*Buddhists* are ascribable principally to that enthusiastic contempt of action for which these quietists are so remarkable. Their passionate love of abstractions is another prop of this theory.

## APPENDIX A.

*Detail of the principal attributes of A'di Buddha and of the 18 Sunyata.*

### *The* 32 *Lakshana.*

1. Chakrângkita pani pada talatá.
2. Supratishthita pani pada talatá.
3. Jálábuddha Vajrangúli pani pada talatá.
4. Mridú tarúna hastá pada talatá.
5. Saptó chandatá.
6. Dirghángulitá.
7. Ayata parsha nitá.
8. Riyu gátratá.
9. U'stanga pádatá.
10. U'rdhánga romatá.
11. Ainaya Junghatá.
12. Patúrú bahúta.
13. Koshgata vasti gúhyata.
14. Súvarna Varnatá.
15. Súkla chavitá.
16. Pradakshina Vartaika rómatá.
17. U'rnalangkrita Múkhatá.
18. Singha púrbárdha Kayatá.
19. Súsambhita skandhatá.
20. Chittantarangatá.
21. Rasrasagrata.
22. Nyagradha parimandalatá.
23. U'shnisha Siraskatá.
24. Prabhúta Jihwatá.
25. Prastambaratá.
26. Singha hanútá.
27. Sukla hanútá.
28. Sama dántatá.
29. Hansa Víkranta gamítá.
30. Avírala dántatá.
31. Sama chatwa ringsat dántatá.
32. Abhíníla néttratá.

### *The* 80 *Vyanjana.*

1. A'támra nakhatá.
2. Snigdha nakhatá.
3. Túnga nakhatá.
4. Chittrangúlítá.

5. Anúpúrvangúlítá.
6. Gúdha Síratá.
7. Níggrandhí Síratá.
8. Gúdha gúlphatá.
9. Abishama padatá.
10. Singha Víkránta gámitá.
11. Nága Víkránta gámitá.
12. Hansa Vikránta gamitá.
13. Vrishabha víkránta gamitá.
14. Pradakshína gámítá.
15. Chárú gámítá.
16. Abakra gámitá.
17. Brita gátratá.
18. Mrista gátratá.
19. Anúpúrva gátratá.
20. Suchí gátratá.
21. Mridú gátratá.
22. Bisúddha gátratá.
23. Paripúrna Vyanjanatá.
24. Prathú charú mandala gátratá.
25. Sama kramatá.
26. Bisúddha néttratá.
27. Súkúmára gátratá.
28. Adina gátratá.
29. U'tsaha gátratá.
30. Gambhira kúkshatá.
31. Prasanna gátratá.
32. Súbibhaktanga pratyangatá.
33. Bitimira Súdhwa lakatá.
34. Bitúnga kúkshitá.
35. Mrista kúkshitá.
36. Abhya kúkshitá.
37. Akshóbha kúkshitá.
38. Gambhira nábhitá.
39. Pradakshina varta nábhítá.
40. Samant prásádikatá.
41. Súchi samúda cháratá.
42. Byapaga tailakal gatratá.
43. Gandha sadrisa súkúmara panita.
44. Snigdha pani lékhitá.
45. Gambhíra pani lékhitá.
46. Ayta pani lékhitá.
47. Nátyaéta vachanatá.
48. Bimba prítibímbosthtá.
49. Mrídú jihwata.
50. Tanú jihwata.
51. Mégha garjita ghosatá.
52. Rakta jihwata.
53. Madhúra Charú manjú Swuratá.
54. Vritta dangstratá.
55. Tikshna dangstratá.
56. Súkla dangstratá.
57. Sama dangstratá.
58. Anúpúrva dangstratá.
59. Túnga násikatá.
60. Shúchi násikatá.
61. Visála néttratá.
62. Chittra púkshmata.
63. Sitá sita kamala dala néttratá.
64. Ayét krikatá.
65. Súkla bhrukatá.
66. Súsnigdha bhrúkata.
67. Pináyata bhúja latatá.
68. Sama karnatá.
69. Anúpahata karnendriatá.

70. Aparisthana lalátatá.
71. Prithú lalátatá.
72. Súparipúrnottamangatá.
73. Bhramara sadrisa késhatá.
74. Chittra késhatá.
75. Gúhya késhatá.
76. Asangúnita késhatá.
77. Apúrúsha késhatá.
78. Súrabhi késhatá.
79. Sribasta múkti kanangha.
80. Vartula chinhita pani pada talatá.

*The* 5 *Varana.*

1. Sweta.
2. Nila.
3. Pita.
4. Rakta.
5. Syama.

*The* 10 *Páramitá.*

1. Dána.
2. Sila.
3. Sánti.
4. Virya.
5. Dhyan.
6. Prajna.
7. Upaya.
8. Bala.
9. Pranidhi.
10. Jnyan.

*The* 10 *Bhúvana.*

1. Pramúdhita.
2. Vimala.
3. Prabhákari.
4. Archishmati.
5. Súdúrjaya.
6. Abhimúkhi.
7. Dúrangama.
8. Sádhúmati.
9. Samanta prabhá.
10. Dharma mégha.

*The* 10 *Jnyánas.*

1. Dúkh'ha Jnyan.
2. Samúdya Jnyan.
3. Niródha Jnyan.
4. Marga Jnyan.
5. Dharma Jnyan.
6. Artha Jnyan.
7. Sambirthi Jnyan.
8. Parachitta Jnyan.
9. Kshaya Jnyan.
10. Anútpada Jnyan.

*The* 10 *Akára.*

1. Prithivy akára.
2. Jal akára.
3. Agny akára.
4. Váyu akára.
5. Akas akára.
6. Akása nirodh akára.
7. Váyú niródh akára.
8. Agni níródh akára.
9. Jala níródh akára.
10. Prithiví niródh akára.

### *The* 10 *Artha.*

1. Prán ártha.
2. Apán ártha.
3. Samán ártha.
4. Udán ártha.
5. Vyán ártha.
6. Kúrm ártha.
7. Krikar ártha.
8. Nág ártha.
9. Deva dát ártha.
10. Dhananjy ártha.

### *The* 10 *Bala.*

1. Sthána sthána Jnyan bala.
2. Karma vipaka Jnyan bala.
3. Nánádhátú Jnyan bala.
4. Náná vimúkti Jnyan bala.
5. Satandria prápara Jnyan bala.
6. Sarvatragámi pritipatti Jnyan bala.
7. Dhyan, Vimaksha Samadhi, Samápatti Sangklésh, Vyavadan Sthana Jnyan bala.
8. Purva nivása núsmriti Jnyan bala.
9. Vyúttútpatti Jnyan bala.
10. Asrabakshaya Jnyan bala.

### *The* 10 *Basita.*

1. Ayur basita.
2. Chitta basita.
3. Pariskara basita.
4. Dharma basita.
5. Abdhwi basita.
6. Janma basita.
7. Adhimúkti basita.
8. Pranidhána basita.
9. Karma basita.
10. Jnyan basita.

### *The* 5 *Kaya.*

1. Dharma kaya.
2. Sambhoga kaya.
3. Nirmána kaya.
4. Maha Súkha kaya.
5. Jnyan kaya.

### *The* 5 *Chakshu.*

1. Mánsa chakshu.
2. Dharma chakshu.
3. Prajnyan chakshu.
4. Divya chakshu.
5. Buddha chakshu.

### *The* 18 *Sunyata.*

1. Adhyatma sunyata.
2. Bahirdhá sunyata.
3. Adhyatma Bahirdha sunyata.
4. Sunyata sunyata.
5. Maha sunyata.
6. Paramartha sunyata.
7. Sanscrita sunyata.
8. Asanscrita sunyata.

9. Atiyanta sunyata.
10. Anábarágra sunyata.
11. Anavakára sunyata.
12. Prikriti sunyata.
13. Sarvadharma sunyata.
14. Salakshana sunyata.
15. Anupalambha sunyata.
16. Abhava sunyata.
17. Súbhava sunyata.
18. Abhava Subhava sunyata.

*Matantara 20 Sunyata.*

19. Lakshana sunyata.
20. Alakshana sunyata.

## APPENDIX B.

*Classified enumeration of the principal objects of Bauddha Worship.*

*Ekamnaya.*

Upaya.
Adi-Buddha.
Maha-Vairochana.

*Ekamnayi.*

Prajna.
Prajna-paramita.

*Dwayamnaya.*

| 1. | 2. | |
|---|---|---|
| Upaya. | Prajna. | Root of theistic doctrine. |
| 1. | 2. | |
| Prajna. | Upaya. | Root of atheistic ditto. |

*Trayamnaya.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. |
|---|---|---|
| Dharma. | Buddha. | Sangha. |
| 2. | 1. | 3. |
| Sangha. | Buddha. | Dharma. |
| 1. | 2. | 3. |
| Buddha. | Dharma. | Sangha. |

*Pancha-Buddhamnaya.*

| 4. | 2. | 1. | 3. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amitabha. | Akshobhya. | Vairochana. | Ratnasambhava. | Amoghasiddha. |

*Pancha-Prajnamnayi.*

| 4. | 2. | 1. | 3. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pandara. | Lochana. | Vajradhatwisvari. | Mamaki. | Tara. |

*Pancha-Sanghamnaya.*

| 4. | 2. | 1. | 3. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Padmapani. | Vajrapani. | Samantabhadra. | Ratnapani. | Viswapani. |

*Pancha-Sangha-Prajnamnayi.*

| 4. | 2. | 1. | 3. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bhrikuti-tara. | Ugratara. | Sitatara | Ratnatara. | Viswatara. |

*Matantara-Pancha-Buddhamnaya.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vairochana. | Akshobhya. | Ratnasambhava. | Amitabha. | Amoghasiddha. |

*Matantara-Pancha-Prajnamnayi.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vajradhatwisvari. | Lochana. | Mamaki. | Pandara. | Tara. |

*Matantara-Pancha-Sanghamnaya.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Samantabhadra. | Vajrapani. | Ratnapani. | Padmapani. | Viswapani. |

*Matantara-Pancha-Sangha-Prajnamnayi.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sitatara. | Ugratara. | Ratnatara. | Bhrikutitara. | Visvatara. |

*Matantara-Pancha-Buddhamnaya.*

| 4. | 2. | 1. | 3. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amitabha. | Amoghasiddha. | Vairochana. | Ratnasambhava. | Akshobhya. |

*Matantara-Pancha-Prajnamnayi.*

| 4. | 2. | 1. | 3. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tara. | Mamaki. | Vajradhatwisvari. | Pandara. | Lochana. |

*Shad-A'mnaya-Buddhah.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vairochana. | Akshobhya. | Ratnasambhava. | Amitabha. | Amoghasiddha. | Vajrasatwa. |

*Shat-Prajnamnayi.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vajradhatwisvari. | Lochana. | Mamaki. | Pandara. | Tara. | Vajrasatwatmika. |

*Shat-Sanghamnaya.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Samantabhadra. | Vajrapani. | Ratnapani. | Padmapani. | Viswapani. | Ghantapani. |

*Manushiya-Sapta-Buddhamnaya.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vipasyi. | Sikhi. | Viswabha. | Kakutsanda | Kanakamuni. | Kasyapa. | Sakyasinha. |

*Matantara-Manushiya-Sapta-Buddhamnaya.*

| 6. | 4. | 2. | 1. | 3. | 5. | 7. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kasyapa. | Kakutsanda. | Sikhi. | Vipasyi. | Viswabha. | Kanakamuni. | Sakyasinha. |

*Prajna-Misrita-Dhyani-Nava-Buddhamnaya.*

| 2. | 1. | 3. |
|---|---|---|
| Akshobhya. | Vairochana-Vajradhatwisvari. | Ratnasambhava. |

| 8. | 6. | 4. | 5. | 7. | 9. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pandara. | Lochana. | Amitabha. | Amoghasiddha. | Mamaki. | Tara. |

*Dhyani-Nava-Buddhamnaya.*

| 4. | 2. | 1. | 3. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amitabha. | Akshobhya. | Vairochana. | Ratnasambhava. | Amoghasiddha. |

| 8. | 6. | 7. | 9. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vajradharma. | Vajrasatwa. | Vajraraja. | Vajrakarma. |

*Dhyani-Nava-Prajnamnayi.*

4. Pandara. 2. Lochana. 1. Vajradhatwisvari. 3. Mamaki. 5. Tara.
8. Dharmavajrini. 6. Vajrasatwatmika. 7. Ratnavajrini. 9. Karmavajrini.

*Dhyani-Nava-Sanghamndyah.*

4. Padmapani. 2. Vajrapani. 1. Samantabhadra. 3. Ratnapani. 5. Viswapani.
8. Dharmapàni. 6. Ghantapani. 7. Manipani. 9. Karmapani.

*Misrita-Nava-Buddhamnayanam ete Misrita-Nava-Sanghamnayah.*

2. Maitreya. 1. Avalokiteswara. 3. Gaganaganja.
6. Manjughosha. 4. Samantabhadra. 5. Vajrapani. 7. Sarva-nivarana-vishkambhi.
8. Kshitigarbha. 9. Khagarbha.

*Misrita-Nava-Buddhamnayanam ete Nava-Dharmamnayah Paustakah Buddha-Dharma-sangha-Mandale Pujanakrame etan Mulam.*

2. Gandavyuha. 1. Prajna-paramita. 3. Dasabhumiswara.
6. Saddharmapundarika. 4. Samadhiraja. 5. Lankavatara. 7. Tathagataguhyaka.
8. Lalita-vistara. 9. Suvarna-prabha.

*Nava-Bodhisatwa-Sangha-Prajnamnayah.*

4. Sitatara. 2. Maitrayani. 1. Bhrikutitara. 3. Pushpatara. 5. Ekajata.
8. Dipatara. 6. Vagiswari. 7. Dhupatara. 9. Gandhatara.

*Nava-Devi-Prajnamnayi.*

2. Vajravidarini. 1. Vasundhara. 3. Ganapati-hridaya. 8. Marichi. 4. Ushnisha-vijaya.
5. Parnasavari. 7. Grahamatrika. 8. Pratyangira. 9. Dhwajagrakeyuri.

*Misrita-Nava-Dharmamnayah.*

4. Pandara. 2. Lochana. 1. Vajradhatwiswari. 3. Mamaki. 5. Tara.
8. Pratyangira. 6. Vajrasatwatmika. 7. Vasundhara. 9. Guhyeswari.

*Manushiya-Nava-Buddhamnayah.*

4. Sikhi. 2. Ratnagarbha. 1. Dipankara. 3. Vipasyi. 5. Viswabhu.
8. Kasyapa. 6. Kakutsanda. 7. Kanakamuni. 9. Sakyasinha.

*Manushiya-Nava-Buddhamnayah.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dipankara. | Ratnagarbha. | Vipasyi. | Sikhi. | Viswabhu. |
| 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | |
| Kakutsanda. | Kanakamuni. | Kasyapa. | Sakyasinha. | |

*Manushiya-Nava-Prajnamnayi.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jwalavati. | Lakshanavati. | Vipasyanti. | Sikhamalini. | Viswadhara. |
| 6. | 7 | 8. | 9. | |
| Kakudvati. | Kanthanamalini. | Mahidhara. | Yasodhara. | |

*Nava-Bhikshu-Sanghamnayah.*

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pradipeswara. | Ratnaraja. | Mahamati. | Ratnadhara. | A'kasaganja. |
| 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | |
| Sakalamangala. | Kanakaraja. | Dharmodara. | Ananda. | |

*Iti Sri-Ekamnayadi-Navamnaya-Devatah Samaptah.*

N. B. The authority for these details is the Dharma Sangraha, or *catalogue raisonne* of the terminology of Bauddha system of philosophy and religion.

---

## No. IV.

### EUROPEAN SPECULATIONS ON BUDDHISM.

(Printed from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nos. 32, 33, and 34, A. D. 1834.)

In the late M. Abel Remusat's review of my sketch of Buddhism, (Journal des Savans, Mai, 1831,) with the perusal of which I have just been favoured by Mr. J. Prinsep, there occurs (p. 263) the following passage: "L'une des croyances les plus importantes, et celle sur laquelle l'essai de M. Hodgson fournit le moins de lumières, est celle des avénemens ou incarnations (*avatára*). Le nom de *Tathágata* (avenu*) qu'on donne à Sakia n'est point expliqué dans son mémoire; et quant aux incarnations, le religieux dont les reponses ont fourni la substance de ce mémoire, ne semble pas en reconnoître d'autres que celles des sept Bouddhas. Il est pourtant certain qu'on en compte une

* A radical mistake; see the sequel.

infinité d'autres ; et les lamas du Tibet se considèrent eux mêmes comme autant de divinités incarnées pour le salut des hommes."

I confess I am somewhat surprised by these observations, since whatever degree of useful information relative to Buddhism my essays in the Calcutta and London Transactions may furnish, they profess *not* to give *any*, (save ex vi necessitatis) concerning the 'veritable nonsens' of the system. And in what light, I pray you, is sober sense to regard "une infinité" of phantoms, challenging belief in their historical existence as the founders and propagators of a given code of laws? The *Lallita Vistara* gravely assigns 505, or according to another copy, 550, *avatárs* to SAKYA *alone*. Was I seriously to incline to the task of collecting and recording all that is attributed to these palpable *nonentities?* or, was it merely desired that I should explain the rationale of the doctrine of incarnation? If the latter only be the desideratum, here is a summary recapitulation of what I thought I had already sufficiently explained.

The scale of Bauddha perfectibility has countless degrees, several of which towards the summit express attributes really divine, however short of the transcendental glory of a *tathágata* in *nirvritti*. Nevertheless, these attributes appertain to persons subject to mortal births and deaths, of which the series is as little limited as is that scale of cumulative merits to which it expressly refers. But, if the scale of increasing merits, with proportionate powers in the occupiers of each grade, have almost infinite extent, and yet mortal birth cleave to every grade but the very highest, what wonder that men-gods should be common? or, that the appearance again in the flesh, of beings, who are far more largely gifted than the greatest of the *devatas*, should be called an *avatár?* Such *avatárs*, in all their successive mortal advents till they can reach the estate of a *tathágata*, are the *arhantas*, and the *bodhisatwas*, the *pratyéka* and the *srávaka-Buddhas*. They are gods and far more than gods; yet they were originally, and still quoad birth and death are, mere men. When I stated that the divine Lamas of Tibet are, in fact, *arhantas;* but that a very gross superstition had wrested the just notion of the character of the lat-

ter to its own use, I thought I had enabled every reader to form a clear idea of that marvel of human folly, the immortal mortals, or present palpable divinities of Tibet! How few and easy the steps from a theory of human perfectibility, with an apparently interminable metempsychosis, to a practical tenet such as the Tibetans hold!

But REMUSAT speaks of the incarnations of the *tathágatas:* this is a mistake, and a radical one. A *tathágata* may be such whilst yet lingering in the flesh of that mortal birth in which he reached this supreme grade;—and here, by the way, is *another* very obvious foundation for the Tibetan extravagance—but when once, by that body's decay, the *tathágata* has passed into *nirvritti,* he can never be again incarnated. The only true and proper *Buddha* is the *Maha Yánika* or *Tathágata Buddha.* Such are all the '*sapta Buddha;*' of whom it is abundantly certain that *not one* ever was, or by the principles of the creed, could be, incarnated. SAKYA's incarnations all belong to the period preceding his becoming a *Tathágata.* Absolute quietism is the enduring state of a *Tathágata:* and, had it been otherwise, Buddhism would have been justly chargeable with a more stupendous absurdity than that from which REMUSAT in vain essays to clear it. 'Plusieurs absolus—plusieurs infinis' there are; and they are bad enough, though the absolute infinity be restricted to the fruition of the subject. But the case would have been tenfold worse had activity been ascribed to these beings; for we should then have had an unlimited number of infinite ruling providences! The infinite of the Buddhists is *never* incarnated; nor the finite of the Brahmans. *Avatárs* are an essential and consistent part of Brahmanism—an unessential and inconsistent part of Buddhism: and there is always this material difference between the *avatár* of the former and of the latter, that whereas in the one it is an incarnation of the supreme and infinite spirit, for recognised purposes of creation or rule; in the other, it is an incarnation of a mere human spirit—(however approximated by its own efforts to the infinite) and for what purpose it is impossible to say, *consistently with the principles of the creed.* I exclude here all consideration of the

*dhyáni*, or celestial Buddhas, because REMUSAT's reference is expressly to the seven *mánushi* or human ones.

The word *tathágata* is reduced to its elements, and explained in three ways—1st. *thus gone*, which means gone in such a manner that he (the *tathágata*) will never appear again; births having been closed by the attainment of perfection. 2nd. *thus got or obtained*, which is to say, (cessation of births) obtained, degree by degree, in the manner described in the Bauddha scriptures, and by observance of the precepts therein laid down. 3rd. *thus gone*, that is, gone as it (birth) came—the pyrrhonic interpretation of those who hold that doubt is the end, as well as beginning, of wisdom; and that *that* which causes birth, causes likewise the ultimate cessation of them, whether that 'final close' be conscious immortality or virtual nothingness. Thus the epithet *tathágata*, so far from meaning 'come' (avenu), and implying incarnation, as REMUSAT supposed, signifies the direct contrary, or 'gone for ever,' and expressly announces the *impossibility* of incarnation; and this according to all the schools, sceptical, theistic, and atheistic.

I shall not, I suppose, be again asked for the incarnations of the *tathágatas*.* Nor, I fancy, will any philosophical peruser of the above etymology of this important word have much hesitation in refusing, on this ground alone, any portion of his serious attention to the 'infinite' of Buddhist *avatárs*, such as they really are. To my mind they belong to the very same category of mythological shadows with the infinity of *distinct Buddhas*, which latter, when I first disclosed it as a fact in relation to the belief of these sectaries, led me to warn my readers "to keep a steady eye upon the authoritative assertion of the old scriptures, that SAKYA is the 7th and *last* of the *Buddhas*."†

The purpose of my two essays on Buddhism was to seize and render intelligible the *leading* and *least* absurd of the opinions and practices of these religionists, in order to facilitate to my country-

* To the question, what is the *tathagata*, the most holy of Buddhist scriptures returneth for answer, 'It does not come again, it does not come again.'

† Asiatic Researches, vol. xvi. p. 445.

men the study of an entirely new and difficult subject in those original Sanscrit authorities* which I had discovered and placed within their reach, but no living interpreters of which, I knew, were accessible to them, in Bengal or in Europe.

I had no purpose, nor have I, to meddle with the interminable sheer absurdities of the Bauddha philosophy or religion; and, had I not been called upon for *proofs* of the numerous novel statements my two essays contained, I should not probably have recurred at all to the topic. But sensible of the prevalent literary scepticism of our day and race, I have answered that call, and furnished to the Royal Asiatic Society, a copious selection from those original works which I had some years previously discovered the existence of in Nepaul. I trust that a further consideration of my two published essays, as illustrated by the new paper just mentioned, will suffice to remove from the minds of my continental readers most of those doubts of Remusat, the solution of which does not necessarily imply conversancy on my part with *details as absurd as interminable.* I cannot, however, be answerable for the mistakes of my commentators. One signal one, on the part of the lamented author in question, I have just discussed: others of importance I have adverted to elsewhere: and I shall here confine myself to the mention of one more belonging to the review from which I have quoted. In speaking of the classification of the people, Remusat considers the *vajra achárya* to be laics; which is so far from being true that they and they alone constitute the clergy. The *bhikshuka* can indeed perform some of the lower offices of religion: but the *vajra achárya* solely are competent to the discharge of the higher; and, in point of fact, are the only real clergy. That the distinction of clerus et laicus in this creed is altogether an anomaly, resulting from the decay of the primitive asceticism of

* Nearly 50 vols. in Sanscrit, and four times as many in the language of Tibet, were sent by me to Calcutta between the years 1824 and 30. The former had never been before heard of, nor the latter possessed, by Europeans.

[See the notices of the contents of the Tibetan works and their Sanscrit originals by M. Csoma de Koros, and by Professor H. H. Wilson in the 3rd vol. of Gleanings, and 1st vol. of Journal As. Soc.—Ed.]

the sect, I have endeavoured to shew elsewhere, and cannot afford room for repetition in this place.

The critics generally have been, I observe, prompt to adopt my caution relative to local superstitions, as opposed to the original creed of the Bauddhas. But they have carried their caution too far, and by so doing, have cast a shade of doubt and suspicion over things sufficiently entitled to exemption therefrom. Allow me, then, to reverse the medal, and to shew the grounds upon which a great degree of certainty and uniformity may always be presumed to exist in reference to this creed, be it professed where it may.

Buddhism arose in an age and country celebrated for literature; and the consequence was, that its doctrine and discipline were fixed by means of one of the most perfect languages in the world (Sanscrit), during, or immediately after, the age of its founder.

Nor, though furious bigots dispersed the sect, and attempted to destroy its records, did they succeed in the latter attempt. The refugees found, not only safety, but protection, and honor, in the *immediately* adjacent countries, whither they safely conveyed most of their books, and where those books still exist, either in the original Sanscrit, or in most carefully-made translations from it. The *Sata Sahasrika*, *Prajna Paramita*, and the nine *Dharmas*, discovered by me in Nepaul, are as indisputably original evidence of Buddhism as the *Védas* and *Puránas* are of Brahmanism. The *Káhgyur* of Tibet has been *proved* to have been rendered into Tibetan from Sanscrit, with pains and fidelity: and if the numerous books of the Burmese and Ceylonese be not originals, it is certain that they were translated in the earlier ages of Buddhism, and that they were rendered into a language (high Prakrit) which, from its close affinity to that of the original books of the sect, (Sanscrit,) must have afforded the translators every facility in the prosecution of their labours.

But if the Buddhists, whether of the continent or islands of India, or of the countries beyond the former, still possess and consult the primitive *scriptures* of their faith, *either in the original language, or in careful translations, made in the best age of their*

*church*—wherefore, I would fain know, should European scholars, from their study, incessantly prate about mere *local* rites and opinions, constituting the substance of whatever is told to the intelligent traveller by the present professors of this faith in diverse regions—nay, constituting the substance of whatever he can glean from their books? In regard to Nepaul, it is just as absurd to insinuate, that the *Prajna Paramita,* and the nine *Dharmas* were composed in that country, and have exclusive reference to it, as to say that the Hebrew Old, or Greek New, Testament was composed in and for Italy, France, or Spain exclusively. Nor is it much less absurd to affirm, that the Buddhism of one country is *essentially* unlike the Buddhism of any and every other country professing it, than it would be to allege the same of Christianity.

Questionless, in the general case, documentary is superior to verbal evidence. But the superiority is not without limit: and where, on the one hand, the books referred to by our closet students are numerous and difficult, and respect an entirely new subject, whilst, on the other hand, our personal inquirers have time and opportunity at command, and can question and cross-question intelligent witnesses, the result of an appeal to the living oracles will oft times prove as valuable as that of one to the dead.

Let the closet student, then, give reasonable faith to the traveller, even upon this subject; and, whatever may be the general intellectual inferiority of the orientals of our day, or the plastic facility of change peculiar to every form of polytheism, let him not suppose that the living followers of Buddha *cannot* be profitably interrogated touching the creed they live and die in; and, above all, let him not presume that a religion fixed, at its earliest period, by means of a noble written language, has no identity of character in the several countries where it is now professed, notwithstanding that that identity has been guarded, up to this day, by the possession and use of original scriptures, or of faithful translations from them, which were made in the best age of this Church.

For myself, and with reference to the latter point, I can safely say that my comparisons of the *existing* Buddhism of Nepaul, with that of Tibet, the Indo-Chinese nations, and Ceylon, as reported

by our local inquirers, as well as with that of *ancient* India itself, as evidenced by the sculptures of Gya,* and of the cave temples of Aurungabad, have satisfied me that this faith possesses as much identity of character in all times and places as any other we know, of equal antiquity and diffusion.†

P. S.—Whether REMUSAT's 'avenu' be understood loosely, as meaning come, or strictly, as signifying come to pass, it will be equally inadmissible as the interpretation of the word *Tathágata;* because *Tathágata* is designed expressly to announce that all reiteration and contingency whatever is barred with respect to the

* See the explanation of these sculptures by a Nepaulese Buddhist in the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, No. xiv. pp. 218, 222.

† As a proof of the close agreement of the Bauddha systems of different countries, we may take this opportunity of quoting a private letter from Colonel BURNEY, relative to the 'Burmese Philosopher Prince,' MEKKHARA MEN, the King of Ava's uncle.

"The prince has been reading with the greatest interest M. CSOMA DE KOROS's different translations from the Tibet scriptures in your journal, and he is most anxious to obtain the loan of some of the many Tibetan works, which the Society is said to possess. He considers many of the Tibetan letters to be the same as the Burmese, particularly the *b*, *m*, *n*, and *y*. He is particularly anxious to know if the monastery called Zedawuna still exists in Tibet, where according to the Burmese books, GODAMA dwelt a long time, and with his attendant ANANDA planted a bough which he had brought from the great *pipal* tree, at Buddha-Gaya. The prince is also anxious to know whether the people of Tibet wear their hair as the Burmese do? how they dress, and how their priests dress and live? The city in which the monastery of Zedawuna stood, is called in the Burmese scriptures *Thawotthi*, and the prince ingeniously fancies, that Tibet must be derived from that word. The Burmese have no *s*, and always use their soft *th*, when they meet with that letter in *Pali* or foreign words—hence probably *Thawotthi* is from some Sanscrit name Sawot. I enclose a list of countries and cities mentioned in the Burmese writings, as the scene of GODAMA's adventures, to which if the exact site and present designation of each can be assigned from the Sanscrit or the Tibet authorities, it will confer an important favour on Burmese literati." It is highly interesting to see the spirit of inquiry stirring in the high places of this hitherto benighted nation. The information desired is already furnished, and as might be expected, the Burmese names prove to be copied through the *Prakrit* or *Pali*, directly from the Sanscrit originals, in this respect differing from the Tibetan, which are *translations* of the same name.—*Ed.*

beings so designated. They cannot come; nor can any thing come to pass affecting them.*

And if it be objected, that the mere use of the word avenu, in the past tense, does not necessarily imply such reiteration and conditional futurity, I answer that REMUSAT clearly meant it to convey these ideas, or what was the sense of calling on me for the successive incarnations of these avenus? It has been suggested to me that absolu, used substantively, implies activity. Perhaps so, in Parisian propriety of speech. But I use it merely as opposed to relative with reference to *mere* mortals; and I trust that the affirmation—there are many absolutes, many infinites, who are nevertheless inactive—may at least be distinctly understood. I have nothing to do with the reasonableness of the tenet so affirmed or stated, being only a reporter.

---

## No. V.

### FURTHER REMARKS ON M. REMUSAT'S REVIEW OF BUDDHISM.

(Printed from the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No. 33. A. D. 1834.)

Adverting again to REMUSAT's Review in the Journal des Savans for May, 1831, I find myself charged with another omission more important than that of all mention of the Avatars. It is no less than the omission of all mention of any other *Buddhas* than the seven celebrated Mánúshis. The passage in which this singular allegation is advanced is the following: "Les noms de ces sept personnages (the '*Sapta Buddha*') sont connus des Chinois, et ils en indiquent une *infinité d'autres* dont le Bouddhiste Nipálien *ne parle pas.*"

* Avenu signifies *quod evenit, contigit,* that which hath happened.—(*Dictionnaire* de *Trevoux.*) *Tathagata ; tatha* thus (what really is), *gata* (known, obtained.)—(WILSON's Sans. Dict.)—*Ed.*

My Essay in the London Transactions was the complement and continuation of that in the Calcutta Researches. REMUSAT was equally well acquainted with *both;* and, unless he would have had me indulge in most useless repetition, he must have felt convinced that the points enlarged on in the former essay would be treated cursorily or omitted, in the latter. Why, then, did he not refer to the Calcutta paper for what was wanting in the London one? Unless I greatly deceive myself, I was the first person who shewed clearly, and *proved* by extracts from original Sanscrit works, that Buddhism recognises "une infinité" of Buddhas,—Dhyáni and Mánúshi, Pratyéka, Srávaka, and Mahá Yánika. The sixteenth volume of the Calcutta Transactions was published in 1828. In that volume appeared my first essay, the substance of which had, however, been in the hands of the Secretary nearly three years before it was published.* In that volume I gave an *original list of nearly* 150 *Buddhas* (p. 446, 449): I observed that the Buddhas named in the Buddhist scriptures were "as numerous as the grains of sand on the banks of the Ganges;" but that, as most of them were nonentities in regard to chronology and history, the list actually furnished would probably more than suffice to gratify rational curiosity; on which account I suppressed *another long list*, drawn from the Samádhi Raja, *which was then in my hands,* (p. 444.) By fixing attention on that cardinal dogma of sugatism, viz. that man can enlarge his faculties to infinity, I enabled every inquirer to conclude with certainty that the Buddhas had been multiplied ad libitum. By tracing the connexion between the Arhantas and the Bodhisatwas; between the latter again, and the Buddhas of the first, second, and third degree of eminence and power; I pointed out the *distinct steps* by which the finite becomes confounded with the infinite,—

* According to usage in that matter provided: a statement in which I request the present Secretary will have the goodness to bear me out.

This delay was and is a necessary evil of the publication of an occasional volume of Researches. It was to obviate the inconvenience in some measure that the present form of the Journal was adopted, but still this is inadequate to the production of papers of any magnitude, as we fear Mr. HODGSON feels by experience!—Ed.

man with Buddha; and I observed in conclusion that the epithet Tathágata, a synonyme of Buddha, *expressly pourtrays this transition.* (London Transactions, vol. ii. part i.) Facts and dates are awkward opponents except to those, who, with REMUSAT's compatriot, dismiss them with a 'tant pis pour les faits!' For years before I published my first essay, I had been in possession of hundreds of drawings, made from the Buddhist pictures and sculptures with which this land is saturated, and which drawings have not yet been published, owing to the delay incident to procuring authentic explanations of them from original sources. All the gentlemen of the residency can testify to the truth of this assertion; and can tell those who would be wiser for the knowledge, that it is often requisite to walk heedfully over the classic fields of the valley of Nepaul, lest perchance you break your shins against an image of a Buddha! These images are to be met with every where, and of all sizes and shapes, very many of them endowed with a multiplicity of members sufficient to satisfy the teeming fancy of any Brahman of Madhya Désa! Start not, gentle reader, for it is literally thus, and not otherwise. Buddhas with three heads instead of one—six or ten arms in place of two! The necessity of reconciling these things with the so called first principles of Buddhism,* may reasonably account for delay in the production of my pictorial stores. Meantime, I cannot but smile to find myself condoled with for my poverty when I am really, and have been for ten years, accablé des richesses! One interesting result only have I reached by means of these interminable trifles; and that is, strong presumptive proof that the cave temples of Western India are the work of Buddhists *solely*, and that the most apparently Brahmanical sculptures of those venerable fanes are, in fact, Buddhist. A hint to this effect I gave so long ago as 1827, in the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, (No. XIV. p. 219;) and can only afford room to remark in this place, that subsequent research had tended strongly to confirm the impressions then derived from my very learned old friend AMIRTA, NANDA. The existence of an infinite number of Buddhas; the existence of the

* See ERSKINE's Essays in the Bombay Transactions.

whole Dhyáni class of Buddhas; the personality of the Triad: its philosophical meaning; the classification and nomenclature of the ascetical or true followers of this creed; the distinction of its various schools of philosophy; the peculiar tenets of each school, faintly but rationally indicated; the connexion of its philosophy with its religion; and, as the result of all these, the means of speaking consistently upon the general subject,* are matters for the knowledge of which, if REMUSAT be not wholly indebted to me and my authorities, it is absolutely certain that I am wholly *un*indebted to him and his; for till he sent me, ten months ago, (I speak of the date of receipt,) his essay on the Triad, I had never seen one line of his, or any other continental writer's lucubrations on Buddhism.

I have ventured to advance above that in the opinion of a learned friend, the Chinese and Mongolian works on Buddhism, from which the continental savans have drawn the information they possess on that topic, are not *per se* adequate to supply any very intelligible views of the general subject.

As this is an assertion which it may seem desirable to support by proof, allow me to propose the following. REMUSAT observes, that a work of *the first order* gives the subjoined sketch of the Buddhist cosmogony. "Tous les êtres etant contenus dans la tres pure substance de la pensée, une idée surgit inopinement et produisit la fausse lumière; Quand la fausse lumière fut née, le vide et l'obscurité s'imposèrent reciproquement des limites. Les formes qui en resultèrent étant indeterminées, il y eut agitation et mouvement. De là naquit le tourbillon de vent qui contient les mondes. L'intelligence lumineuse etoit le principe de solidité, d'ou naquit la roue d'or qui soutient et protège la terre. Le contact mutuel du vent et du metal produit le feu et la lumière, qui sont les principes des changemens et des modifications. La lumière precieuse engendre la liquidité qui bouillonne à la surface de la lumière ig-

* A learned friend assures me that "a world of Chinese and Mongolian enigmas have been solved by means of your general and consistent outline of the *system*, but for which outline the said enigmas would have continued to defy all the continental Œdipuses."

née, d'ou provient le tourbillon d'eau qui embrasse les mondes de toute part."

Now I ask, is there a man living, not familiar with the subject, who can extract a particle of sense from the above passage? And are not such passages, produced in illustration of a novel theme, the veriest obscurations thereof? But let us see what can be made of the enigma. This apercu cosmogonique of the Long-yan-king, is, in fact, a description of the procession of the five elements, one from another, and ultimately from *Prajna*, the universal material principle, very nearly akin to the *Pradhán* of the Kapila Sánkhya. This universal principle has two modes or states of being, one of which is the proper, absolute, and enduring mode; the other, the contingent, relative, and transitory.

The former is abstraction from all effects, or quiescence: the latter is concretion with all effects, or activity. When the intrinsic energy of matter is exerted, effects exist; when that energy relapses into repose, they exist not. All worlds and beings composing the versatile universe are cumulative effects; and though the so-called elements composing them be evolved and revolved in a given manner, one from and to another, and though each be distinguished by a given property or properties, the distinctions, as well as the orderly evolution and revolution, are mere results of the gradually increasing and decreasing energy of nature in a state of activity.* *Upáya*, or 'the expedient,' is the name of this energy;—increase of it is increase of phenomenal properties;—decrease of it is decrease of phenomenal properties. All phenomena are homogeneous and alike unreal; gravity and extended figure, no less so than colour or sound. Extension in the abstract is not a phenomenon, nor belongs *pro-*

* Causes and effects, quoad the versatile world, cannot be truly alleged to exist. There is merely customary conjunction, and certain limited effects of proximity in the precedent and subsequent, by virtue of the one true and universal cause, viz. *Prajna*. With the primitive Swabhavikas cause is not unitised: for the rest, their tenets are very much the same with those above explained in the text, only their conclusions incline rather to scepticism than dogmatism. It may also perhaps be doubted whether with the latter school, phenomena are unreal as well as homogeneous. In the text, I would be understood to state the tenets of the Prajnikas only.

*perly* to the versatile world. The productive energy begins at a minimum of intensity, and increasing to a maximum, thence decreases again to a minimum. Hence *ákásh,* the first product, has but one quality or property; air, the second, has two; fire, the third, has three; water, the fourth, has four; and earth, the fifth, has five.*

These elements are evolved uniformly one from another in the above manner, and are revolved uniformly in the inverse order.

*Súnyatá,* or the total abstraction of phenomenal properties, is the result of the total suspension of nature's activity. It is the ubi, and the modus, of the universal material principle in its proper and enduring state of *nirvriti,* or of rest. It is *not* nothingness, except with the sceptical few. The opposite of *Súnyatá* is *Avidya.* Now, if we revert to the extract from the Long-yan-king, and remember that la pensée,† l'intelligence luminense,† and la lumière precieuse† refer alike to Prajna the material principle of all things, (which is personified as a goddess by the religionists,) we shall find nothing left to impede a distinct notion of the author's meaning, beyond some metaphorical flourishes analogous to that variety of descriptive epithets by which he has characterised the one universal principle. Tourbillon de vent, and tourbillon d'eau, are the elements of air and of water, respectively; and le principe de solidité is the element of earth.

" Tous les êtres etant contenus dans la pure substance de Prajna une idée surgit inopinement et produisit la fausse lumière :"—that is, the universal material principle, or goddess Prajná, whilst existing in its, or her, true and proper state of abstraction and repose, was suddenly disposed to activity, or impressed with delusive mundane affection (*Avidya.*) "Quand la fausse lumière fut née, le

* There is always cumulation of properties, but the number assigned to each element is variously stated.

† Prajna is literally the supreme wisdom, videlicet, *of nature.* Light and flame are *types* of this universal principle, in a *state of activity.* Nothing but extreme confusion can result from translating these terms au pied de la lettre, and without reference to their technical signification. That alone supremely governs both the literal and metaphorical sense of words.

vide et l'obscurité s'imposèrent reciproquement des limites." The result of this errant disposition to activity, or this mundane affection, was that the universal void was limited by the coming into being of the first element, or *ákásh*, which, as the primary modification of *Súnyatá* (space), has scarcely any sensible properties. Such is the meaning of the passage "les formes qui en resultèrent étant indeterminées," immediately succeeding the last quotation. Its sequel again, "il y eut agitation et mouvement," merely refers to mobility being the characteristic property of that element (air) which is about to be produced. "De la naquit le tourbillon de vent, qui contient les mondes." Thence (i. e. from *ákásh*) proceeded the element of the circumambient air. "L'intelligence lumineuse etoit le principe de solidité, d'ou naquit la roue d'or qui soutient et protége la terre." *Prajna* in the form of light (her *pravrittika* manifestation) was the principle of solidity, whence proceeded the wheel of gold which sustains and protects the earth. Solidity, the diagnostic quality of the element of earth, stands for that element; and the wheel of gold is mount Merú, the distinctive attribute of which is protecting and sustaining power: this passage, therefore, simply announces the evolution of the element of earth, with its mythological appendage, mount Merú. But, according to all the authorities within my knowledge, earth is the *last* evolved of the material elements. Nor did I ever meet with an instance, such as here occurs, of the direct intervention of the first cause (*Prajna*) in the *midst* of this evolution of the elements. "Le contact mutuel du vent et du *metal* produit le feu et la lumière, qui sont les principes des changemens." The mutual contact of the elements of air and of *earth* produced fire and light, which are the principles of change. This is intelligible, allowance being made for palpable mistakes. I understand by it, merely the evolution out of the element of air of that of fire, of which light is held to be a modification. To the igneous element is ascribed the special property of heat, which is assumed by our author as the principle of all changes and transformations. Metal for earth is an obvious misapprehension of Remusat's. Nor less so is the false allocation of this element (earth) in the general evolution of the five, and its introduction here.

"La lumière precieuse engendre la liquidité qui bouillonne à la surface de la lumière ignée, d'on provient le tourbillon d'eau qui embrasse les mondes."

*Prajna* (in the form of light) produces the liquidity which boils on the surface of igneous light, whence proceeds the element of water embracing the world.

This figurative nonsense, when reduced to plain prose, merely announces the evolution of the element of water from that of fire. Our terrestrial globe rests upon the waters like a boat, according to the Buddhists; and hence the allusion (embracing the world) of the text. What is deserving of notice is the direct interference, a *second time*, (and in respect to earth, a third time,) of the causa causans with the procession of the elements, one from another. All my authorities are silent in regard to any such repeated and direct agency; which amounts in fact, to creation properly so called—a tenet directly opposed to the fundamental doctrine of all the Swabhávikas. Certain Buddhists hold the opinion, that all material substances in the versatile world have no existence independent of *human* perception. But that the Chinese author quoted by Mr. Remusat was one of these idealists, is by no means certain. His more immediate object, in the passage quoted, evidently was, to exhibit the procession of the five material elements, one from another. To that I at present confine myself, merely observing of the other notion, that what has been stated of the homogeneousness and unreality of all phenomena, is not tantamount to an admission of it. The doctrine of *Avidya*, the mundane affection of the universal principle, is not necessarily the same with the doctrine which makes the sentient principle *in man* the *measure of all things*.*
Both may seem, in effect, to converge towards what we very vaguely call idealism; but there are many separate paths of inquiry by which that conclusion may be reached.

*Nepaul, August*, 1834.

* *Manas*, the sixth element, is the sentient principle in man. The Chinese author mentions it *not*, unless the passage beginning "la même force," and immediately following that I have quoted, was designed to announce its evolution. That passage as it stands, however, does not assert more than the homogeneousness of this sixth element with the other five.

# No. VI.

## REMARKS ON M. REMUSAT'S REVIEW OF BUDDHISM.

(Printed from the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No. 34, A. D. 1834.)

I resume my notice of REMUSAT's speculations on Buddhism in the Journal des Savans.

He observes, "On ne seroit pas surpris de voir que, dans ce système, la formation* et la destruction des mondes soient presentés comme les resultats d'une revolution perpetuelle et spontanée, sans fin et sans interruption;" and afterwards remarks, "Il y a dans le fond même des idées Bouddhiques une objection contre l'eternité du monde que les theologiens de cette religion ne semblent pas avoir prévue. Si tous les êtres rentroíent dans le repos réel et definitif à l'instant que les phénomènes cesseroient et disparoitroient dans le sein de l'existence absolu, on conçoit un terme ou tous les êtres seroient devenus Buddha, et ou le monde auroit cessé d'exister."

This Buddha, it is said, is "l'intelligence infinie, la cause souveraine, dont la nature est un effet."

Now, if there *be* such a supreme immaterial cause of all things, what is the meaning of alleging that worlds and beings are *spontaneously* evolved and revolved? and, if these spontaneous operations of nature be expressly allowed to be *incessant and endless*, what becomes of the apprehension that they should ever fail or cease?

As to the real and definitive repose, and the absolute existence, spoken of, they are as certainly and customarily predicated of *Diva natura* by the Swabhávikas, as of God or Adi Buddha, by the Aiswárikas; to which two sects respectively the two opposite opinions confounded by REMUSAT exclusively belong.

Again, "Tout est vide, tout est delusion, pour l'intelligence

* The question of formation is a very different one from that of continuance. Yet REMUSAT would seem to have confounded the two. See the passage beginning "Mais ce qui merite d'être remarque."

suprème (Adi Buddha, as before defined.) L'Avidyá seul donne aux choses du monde sensible une sorte de realité passagère et purement phénomenal." Avidyá, therefore, must, *according to this statement*, be entirely dependant on the volition of the one supreme immaterial cause: yet, immediately after, it is observed, "on voit, à travers des brouillards d'un langage énigmatique, ressortir l'idée d'une *double cause* de tout ce qui existe, savoir l'intelligence suprème (Adi Buddha) et l'Avidyá ou matière." But the fact is, that Avidyá is not a material or plastic cause. It is not a substance, but a mode—not a being, but an affection of a being—not a cause, but *an effect*. Avidyá, I repeat, is nothing primarily causal or substantial: it is a phenomenon, or rather the sum of phenomena; and it is "made of such stuff as dreams are." In other words, phenomena are, according to this theory, utterly unreal. The Avidyálists, therefore, are so far from belonging to that set of philosophers who have inferred two distinct substances and causes from the two distinct classes of phenomena existing in the world, that they entirely deny the justice of the premises on which that inference is rested.

Remusat next observes, "Les effets matériels sont subordonnés aux effets psychologiques"—and in the very next page we hear that "on appelle lois les rapports qui lient les effets aux causes, tant dans l'ordre physique que dans l'ordre moral, ou, pour parler plus exactement, dans l'ordre *unique*, qui constitue l'univers."

Now, if there be *really* but one class of phenomena in the world, it must be either the material, or the immaterial, class: consequently, with those who hold this doctrine, the question of the dependence or independence of mental upon physical phenomena, must, in one essential sense, be a mere façon de parler. And I shall venture to assert, that with most of the Buddhists—whose cardinal tenet is, that all phenomena are *homogeneous*, whatever they may think upon the further question of their reality or unreality—it is actually such.

It is, indeed, therefore necessary "joindre la notion d'esprit" before these puzzles can be allowed to be altogether so difficult as they seem, at least to be *such* as they seem; and if mind or soul

"have no name in the Chinese language," the reason of that at least is obvious; its existence is denied; mind is only a peculiar modification of matter; et l'ordre unique de l'univers c'est l'ordre physique! Not 50 years since a man of genius in Europe declared that "the universal system does not consist of two principles so essentially different from one another as matter and spirit; but that the whole must be of some uniform composition; so that the material *or* immaterial part of the system is superfluous."

This notion, unless I am mistaken, is to be found at the bottom of most of the Indian systems of philosophy, Brahmanical and Buddhist, connected with a rejection in some shape or other of phenomenal reality, *in order to get rid of the difficulty of different properties existing in the cause (whether mind or matter) and in the effect.**

The assertion that "material effects are subordinate to psychological" is no otherwise a difficulty than as two absolutely distinct substances, or two absolutely distinct classes of phenomena, are assumed to have a real existence; and I believe that there is scarcely one school of Bauddha philosophers which has not denied the one or the other assumption; and that the prevalent opinions include a denial of both. All known phenomena may be ascribed to mind *or* to matter without a palpable contradiction; nor, with the single exception of extent, is there a physical phenomenon which does not *seem* to countenance the rejection of phenomenal reality. Hence the doctrines of Avidyá and of Mayá; and I would ask those whose musings are in an impartial strain, whether the Bauddha device be not as good a one as the Brahmanical, to

* Remusat desired to know how the Buddhists reconcile multiplicity with unity, relative with absolute, imperfect with perfect, variable with eternal, nature with intelligence?

I answer; by the hypothesis of two modes—one of quiescence, the other of activity. But when he joins "l'esprit et la matière" to the rest of his antitheses, I must beg leave to say the question is entirely altered, and must recommend the captious to a consideration of the extract given in the text from a *European* philosopher of eminence. Not that I have any sympathy with that extravagance, but that I wish merely to state the case fairly for the Buddhists.

stave off a difficulty which the unaided wit of man is utterly unable to cope with?

Questionless, it is not easy, if it be possible, to avoid the use of words equivalent to material and psychological; but the tenet obviously involved in the formal subordination of one to the other class of phenomena, when placed beside the tenet, that all phenomena are homogenous, at once renders the former a mere trick of words, or creates an irreconcileable contradiction between the two doctrines, and in fact REMUSAT has here again commingled tenets held exclusively by quite distinct schools of Buddhist philosophy.

If I have been held accountable for some of the notions above remarked on, I suspect that these my supposed opinions have been opposed by something more substantial than "des argutiés mystiques." REMUSAT expressly says, "M. HODGSON a eu parfaitement raison d' admettre, comme base du *système entier,* l'existence d'un seul être souverainement parfait et intelligent, de celui qu' il nomme Adi Buddha." Now, I must crave leave to say that I never admitted any thing of the sort; but, on the contrary, carefully pointed out that the 'système entier' consists of *four* systems, all sufficiently different, and two of them, radically so —viz. the Swabhávika and the Aiswárika. It is most apparent to me that REMUSAT has made a melange out of the doctrines of all the four schools; and there are very sufficient indications in the course of this essay that his *principal* authority was of the Swabhávika sect.

In speaking of the two bodies of Buddha he remarks, that "le veritable corps est identifié avec la science et la loi. La substance même est la science (Prajná.)" He had previously made the same observation, "La loi même est son principe et sa nature." Now those who are aware that Prajná (most idly translated law, science, and so forth,) is the name of the *great material cause,** can

* *Prakriteswari iti Prajna;* and again, *Dharanatmika iti Dharma. Dharma* is a synonyme of *Prajna. Prajna,* means Supreme Wisdom. Whose? Nature's —and Nature's, as the sole, or only as the plastic, cause.

So, again, *Dharma* means morality in the abstract, or the moral religious code

have no difficulty in reaching the conviction that the Buddhist authority from whence this assertion was borrowed,—'of Prajná being the very essence; nature, and principle of Buddha,'—belonged to the Swabhávika school, and would have laughed at the *co-ordinate* doctrine of his translator, that Buddha is the sovereign and sole cause, of whom nature (Prajná) is an effect.

The Swabhávika Buddhas, who derive their capacity of identifying themselves with the *first cause* from nature, which *is that cause,* are as all accomplished as the Buddhas of the Aiswárikas, who derive the same capacity from Adi Buddha, *who is that cause.*

In this express character of sovereign cause only, is the Adi Buddha of the Aiswárikas distinguishable, amid the crowd of Buddhas of all sorts; and such are the interminable subtleties of the 'système entier' that he who shall not carefully mark this cardinal point of primary causation, will find all others unavailing to guide him unconfusedly through the *various* labyrinths of the *several schools.*

Did RÉMUSAT never meet with passages like the following?

"And as all other things and beings proceeded from Swabháva or nature, so did Vajra, Satwa, Buddha, thence called the *self-existent.*" Even the Swabhávikas have their Dhyáni Buddhas, and their triad, including, of course, *an* Adi Buddha. Names therefore, are of little weight; and unmeasured epithets are so profusely scattered on every hand that the practised alone can avoid their snare. I did not admit a Theistic school, because I found a Buddha designated as Adi, or the first; nor yet because I found him yclept, infinite, omniscient, eternal, and so forth; *but* because I found him explicitly contradistinguished from nature, and systematically expounded as the efficient cause of all. Nor should it be forgotten that when I announced the fact of a Theistic sect of Buddhists, I

code of these religionists, or material cause, in either of the two senses hinted at above; or, lastly, material effects, viz. versatile worlds. These are points to be settled by the context, and by the known tenets of the writer who uses the one or other word: and when it is known that the very texts of the Swabhávikas, differently interpreted, have served for the basis of the Aiswarika doctrine, I presume no further caveto can be required.

observed that this sect was, as compared with the Swabhávika, both recent and confined.

If, in the course of this, and the three preceding letters, I have spoken harshly of REMUSAT's researches, let it be remembered, that I conceive my labours to have been adopted without acknowledgment, as well as my opinions to have been miserably distorted. I have been most *courteously* told, that "the learned of Europe are indebted to me for the *name* of Adi Buddha!" The inference is palpable that *that* is the extent of the obligation. Such insidious injustice compels me to avow in the face of the world my conviction that, whatever the Chinese and Mongolian works on Buddhism possessed by the French Savans may contain, no intelligible views were thence derived of the *general subject* before my essays appeared, or could have been afterwards, but for the lights those essays afforded.* I had access to the original Sanscrit scriptures of the Buddhists, and they were interpreted to me by learned natives, whose hopes hereafter depended upon a just understanding of their contents. No wonder therefore, and little merit, if I discovered very *many* things inscrutably hidden from those who were reduced to consult barbarian translations from the most refined and copious of languages upon the most subtle and interminable of topics, and who had no living oracle ever at hand to expound to them the dark signification of the written word—to guide their first steps through the most labyrinthine of human mazes.†

For the rest, and *personally*, there is bienséance for bienséance, and a sincere tear dropped over the untimely grave of the learned REMUSAT.

* The case is altered materially *now*; because my original authorities, which stand far less in need of living interpreters, are generally accessible. I have placed them in the hands of my countrymen and of others, and shall be happy to procure copies for any individual, or body of persons, in France, who may desire to possess them.

† I beg to propose, as an experimentum crucis, the celebrated text—*Ye Dharmanitya* of the *Sata Sanasrika*. If the several theistic, atheistic, and sceptical meanings wrapped up in these few words, can be reached through Chinese or Mongolian translations uninterpreted by living authorities, I am content to consider my argument worthless.

# No. VII.

## NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION FROM SÁRNATH.

(Printed in the 40th No. of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.)

I have just got the 39th Number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society and hasten to tell you, that your enigma requires no Œdipus for its solution at Kathmandu, where almost every man, woman, and child, of the Bauddha faith, can repeat the *confessio fidei* (for such it may be called), inscribed on the Sárnáth stone. Dr. MILL was perfectly right in denying the alleged necessary connexion between the inscription, and the complement to it produced by M. CSOMA DE KÖRÖS. No such complement is needed, nor is found in the great doctrinal authorities, wherein the passage occurs in numberless places, sometimes containing but *half* of the complete dogma of the inscription; thus:—"*Yé Dharmá hetu-prabhavá; hetu teshán Tathágata.*" Even thus curtailed, the sense is complete, without the "*Teshán cha yó nirodha, evang* (*vádi*) *Maha* SRAMANA," as you may perceive by the following translation:

"Of all things proceeding from cause, the cause is Tathágata;" or, with the additional word, "Of all things proceeding from cause; the cause of their procession hath the Tathágata explained." To complete the dogma, according to the inscription, we must add, "The great SRAMANA hath likewise declared the cause of the extinction of all things." With the help of the commentators, I render this passage thus, "The cause, or causes of all sentient existence in the versatile world, the Tathágata hath explained. The Great SRAMANA hath likewise explained the cause, or causes of the cessation of all such existence."

Nothing can be more complete, or more fundamental, than this doctrine. It asserts that BUDDHA hath revealed the causes of (animate) mundane existence, as well as the causes of its complete cessation, implying, by the latter, translation to the eternal quiescence of *Nirvritti* which is the grand object of all Bauddha

vows. The addition to the inscription supplied by M. CSOMA, is the *ritual application* merely of the general doctrine of the inscription. It explains especially the manner in which, according to the scriptures, a devout Buddhist may hope to attain cessation from mundane existence, viz. by the practice of all virtues, avoidance of all vices, and by complete mental abstraction. More precise, and as usually interpreted here, more theistic too, than the first clause of the inscription is the terser sentence already given; which likewise is more familiar to the Nipalese, viz. "Of all things proceeding from cause; the cause is the Tathágata:"—understanding by Tathágata, *Adi* BUDDHA. And whenever, in playful mood, I used to reproach my old friend, AMIRTA NANDA, (now alas! no more) with the atheistic tendency of his creed, he would always silence me with, "*Yé Dharmá hetu-prabhavá; hetu teshán Tathágata;*" insisting, that Tathágata referred to the supreme, self-existent (*Swayambhú*) BUDDHA.*

Nor did I *often* care to rejoin, that he had taught me *so* to interpret that important word (Tathágata,) as to strip the dogma of its necessarily theistic spirit! I have already remarked in your Journal, that the Swabhávika texts, differently interpreted, form the groundwork of the Aiswárika tenets. It will not, however, *therefore*, follow, that the theistic school of Buddhism is not entitled to distinct recognition upon the ground of original authorities; for the oldest and highest authority of all—the aphorisms of the founder of the creed—are justly deemed, and proved, by the theistic school, to bear legitimately the construction put upon them by this school—proved in many ancient books, both Puranika and Tantrika, the scriptural validity of which commands a necessary assent. As it seems to be supposed, that the theistic school has no other than Tantrika authorities for its support, I will just mention the

* The great temple of SWAYAMBHU NATH is dedicated to *this* Buddha: whence its name. It stands about a mile west from Kathmandu, on a low, richly wooded, and detached hill, and consists of a hemisphere surmounted by a graduated cone.

The majestic size, and severe simplicity of outline, of this temple, with its burnished cone, set off by the dark garniture of woods, constitute the Chaitya of SWAYAMBHU NATH a very beauteous object.

*Swayambhu Purána* and the *Bhadra Kalpavadán*, as instances of the contrary. In a word, the theistic school of Buddhism, though not so ancient or prevalent as the atheistic and the sceptical schools, is as authentic and legitimate a scion of the original stock of oral dogmata whence this religion sprung, as any of the other schools. Nor is it to be confounded *altogether* with the vile obscenity and mystic iniquity of the *Tantras*, though acknowledged to have considerable connexion with them. Far less is it to be considered peculiar to Nepaul and Tibet, proofs of the contrary being accessible to all; for instance, the *Pancha Buddha Dhyáni* are inshrined in the cave at *Bágh*, and in the minor temples surrounding the great edifice at *Gya;* and the assertion of our Ceylonese antiquaries, that there are only five Buddhas, is no other than a confusion of the five *celestial*, with the seven mortal, Buddhas! As I was looking over your Journal, my Newári painter came into the room. I gave him the catch word, "Yé Dharmá," and he immediately filled up the sentence, *finishing with Tathágata.* I then uttered "teshán cha," and he completed the doctrine according to the inscription. But it was to no purpose that I tried to carry him on through De Körös's ritual complement: he knew it not. After I had explained its meaning to him, he said, the substance of the passage was familiar to him, but that he had been taught to utter the sentiments in other words, which he gave, and in which, by the way, the *ordinary* Buddhist acceptation of *Kushal* and its opposite, or *Akushal*, came out. *Kushal* is good. *Akushal* is evil, in a moral or religious sense. Quod licitum vel mandatum: quod illicitum vel prohibitum.

I will presently send you a correct transcript of the words of the inscription, from some old and authentic copy of the *Raksha Bhagavati*, or *Prajná Paramitá*, as you seem to prefer calling it. So will I of De Cörös's supplement so soon as I can lay my hands on the *Shurangama Samádhi*, which I do not think I have by me. At all events, I do not at once recognise the name as that of a distinct Bauddha work. Meanwhile, you will notice, that as my draftsman, above spoken of, is no pandit, but a perfectly illiterate craftsman merely, his familiar acquaintance with your

inscription may serve to show how perfectly familiar it is to *all* Buddhists. And here I would observe, by the way, that I have no doubt the inscription on the Dehli, Allahabad, and Behar pillars is *some* such cardinal dogma of *this faith.*

In the "Quotations in proof of my sketch of Buddhism," which I sent home last year, I find the following quotation in proof of the Aiswárika system.

"All things existent (in the versatile world) proceed from some cause; that cause is the Tathágata (Adi BUDDHA); and that which is the cause of (versatile) existence is likewise the cause of its total cessation. So said SAKYA SINHA."* The work from which this passage was extracted is the *Bhadra Kalpavadán.*

I am no competent critic of Sanscrit, but I have competent authority for the assertion, that Dharmá, as used in the inscription, means not *human actions* merely, but *all* sentient *existences* in the three versatile worlds (celestial, terrene, and infernal). Such is its meaning in the extract just given from the *Bhadra Kalpavadán,* and also in the famous *Yé Dharmanitya* of the *Sata Sahasrika,* where the sense is even larger, embracing the substance of all inanimate as well as animate entity, thus: "All things are imperishable," or, "The universe is eternal," (without maker or destroyer.) The passage just quoted from the *Sata Sahasrika* serves likewise (I am assured) to prove that the signification of *yé* is not always strictly relative, but often expletive merely: but let that pass.

The points in question undoubtedly are,—*existence* in the *Pravrittika* or versatile world, and *cessation* of such existence, by translation to the world of *Nirvritti;* and of such translation, animals generally, and not human beings solely, are capable. Witness the deer and the chakwa, which figure so much in Bauddha sculptures! The tales of their advancement to *Nirvritti* are popularly familiar. The word *nirodha* signifies, almost universally and exclusively, extinction, or total cessation of versatile existence; a meaning, by the way, which confirms and answers to the interpretation of *dharmá,* by general existences, entities, and not by merely human actions.

* The words bracketed are derived from commentators.

It is scarcely worth while to cumber the present question with the further remark that there *is* a sect of Bauddha philosophers holding opinions which confound conscious actions with universal entities throughout the versatile world, making the latter originate absolutely and *physically* from the former, (see my remarks on REMUSAT in the Journal, No. 33, p. 431.)

It is not, however, admissible so to render generally received texts, as to make them correspondent to very peculiar dogmata. "*Dháranatmika iti dharmá,*" the holding, containing, or sustaining, essence (ens) is *dharmá*. The substratum of all form and quality in the versatile universe, the sustainer of versatile entity, mundane substances and existences, physical and moral, in a word, *all things*. Such is the *general* meaning of *dharmá*. How many other meanings it has, may be seen by reference to a note at the foot of p. 502, No. 34, of your Journal. The root of the word is *dhri*, to hold. WILSON's dictionary gives *Nature* as AMERA SINHA's explanation of *dharmá*. This is essentially correct, as might be expected from a Bauddha lexicographer.

---

*Note.*—If Mr. HODGSON's general interpretation of धर्म is the true one, (which seems most probable, though its specification in the sense of *moral duties* is more agreeable to M. CSOMA's supplement)—its implication, in the present reading, at least, appears manifestly atheistic. For that it cannot mean "Tathágata or the ADI BUDDHA *is* the cause," is evident from the accusative hétún (which is also plural, *causas*.) Even if we were to strike out the word *avadat* or *áha*—the former of which is on the inscriptions, and the latter repeated in Ceylon—still some word of that meaning is plainly understood: and this may help to shew that the explication given by the Aiswaraka Buddhists (as though the words were हेतुस्तेषां तथागतः hétus tésham Tathágatas) is a more recent invention,—and that the Buddhist system properly recognizes no being superior to the sage expounder of physical and moral causes,—whose own exertions alone have raised him to the

highest rank of existences,—the EPICURUS of this great Oriental system,

qui potuit RERUM cognoscere CAUSAS,
Atque metûs omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus.

What is mere figure of speech in the Roman poet, to express the calm dignity of wisdom, becomes religious faith in the east; viz. the elevation of a philosophical opponent of popular superstition and Brahmanical caste, to the character of a being supreme over all visible and invisible things, and the object of universal worship.—W. H. M.

---

*Note on the Note of W. H. M.*—My friendly and learned annotator is right as to the *comparative* recency of the Aishwárika school and may find that opinion long since expressed by myself. But he is wrong in supposing that that school has no old or unquestionable basis; for both Mr. DE KÖRÖS and myself have produced genuine and ancient authorities in its support. So that it is hardly fair to revert to the fancies of Sir W. JONES' day, under cover of a Latin quotation! As to verbal criticism, it is surely scarce necessary to observe that the governing verb being removed, the noun will take the nominative case. I quoted popular words popularly and omitted the nice inflexions of case and number. That my terser text *is* familiar to the mouths of Buddhists, is an unquestionable fact; and I never said, either that this terser form was *that* of *the inscription*, or that I had seen scriptural authority for it, *ipsissimis verbis*.

The express causes of versatile existence, alluded to by Sakya, in the text graved at Sarnath, are Avidya, Sanscar, &c. as enumerated in my Quotations in Proof under the head of the Karmika doctrines; and there, too, may be found the cause or causes of the extinction of such existence.

# No. VIII.

## NOTICE OF ADI BUDDHA AND OF THE SEVEN MORTAL BUDDHAS,

*From the Swayambhu Purána.*

(Printed from the Bengal Asiatic Journal, No. 29, A. D. 1834.)

The Swayambhu Purána relates in substance as follows: That formerly the valley of Nepaul was of circular form, and full of very deep water, and that the mountains confining it were clothed with the densest forests, giving shelter to numberless birds and beasts. Countless waterfowl rejoiced in the waters. The name of the lake was Nâga Vâsa; it was beautiful as the lake of Indra; south of the Hemáchal, the residence of KARKOTAKA, prince of the Nâgas; seven cos long, and as many broad. In the lake were many sorts of water-plants; but not the lotos. After a time, VIPASYI BUDDHA arrived, with very many disciples and Bhikshús, from Vindúmati Nagar, in Madhya Désa, at the Lake of Nâga Vâsa, in the course of his customary religious peregrinations. VIPASYI, having thrice circumambulated the lake, seated himself in the N. W. (Váyúkona) side of it, and, having repeated several mantras over the root of a lotos, he threw it into the water, exclaiming, "What time this root shall produce a flower, then, from out of the flower, Swayambhú, the Lord of Aknishtha Bhavana, shall be revealed in the form of flame; and then shall the lake become a cultivated and populous country." Having repeated these words, VIPASYI departed. Long after the date of this prophecy, it was fulfilled according to the letter.

After VIPASYI BUDDHA, came SIKHI BUDDHA to Nâga Vâsa with a great company of respectful followers, composed of rajas and persons of the four castes (chatúr varana.) SIKHI, so soon as he beheld JYOTI-RUP-SWAYAMBHU, offered to him many laudatory forms of prayer: then rising, he thrice walked round Nâga Vâsa, and, having done so, thus addressed his disciples:

"This place shall hereafter, by the blessing of SWAYAMBHU, become a delightful abode to those who shall resort to it from all quarters to dwell in it, and a sweet place of sojourn for the pilgrim and passenger: my apotheosis is now near at hand, do you all take your leave of me and depart to your own country." So saying SIKHI threw himself into the waters of Nâga Vâsa, grasping in his hands the stalk of the lotos, and his soul was absorbed into the essence of SWAYAMBHU. Many of his disciples, following their master, threw themselves in the lake, and were absorbed into SWAYAMBHU, (i. e. the self-existent;) the rest returned home. VISWABHU was the third Buddha who visited Nâga Vâsa. VISWABHU was born in Anúpama-puri-nagar, of Madhya Désa, (in the Trita yuga;) his life was devoted to benefitting his fellow-creatures. His visit to Nepaul was long after that of SIKHI, and, like SIKHI, he brought with him a great many disciples and Bhikshas, Rajas and cultivators, natives of his own land. Having repeated the praises of SWAYAMBHU-JYOTI-RUPA, he observed; "In this lake Prajna-surúpa-Guhyéswari will be produced. A Bodhisatwa will, in time, make her manifest out of the waters: and this place, through the blessing of SWAYAMBHU, will become replete with villages, towns, and tirthas, and inhabitants of various and diverse tribes." Having thus prophesied he thrice circumambulated the lake and returned to his native country. The Bodhisatwa above alluded to is MANJU SRI, whose native place is very far off, towards the north, and is called Pancha Sirsha Parvata, [which is situated in Maha China Dés.*] One day in the Trita yuga, and immediately after the coming of VISWABHU Buddha to Nâga Vâsa, MANJU SRI, meditating upon what was passing in the world, discovered by means of his divine science that SWAYAMBHU-JYOTI-RUPA, that is, the self-existent, in the form of flame, was revealed out of a lotos in the lake of Nâga Vâsa. Again, he reflected within himself: "Let me behold that sacred spot, and my name will long be celebrated in the world; and on the instant, collecting together his disciples, comprising a multitude of the

* The bracketed portions are from the commentators.

peasantry of the land, and a Raja named DHARMAKAR, he assumed the form of VIŚWAKARMA, and with his two Dévis (wives,) and the persons above-mentioned, set out upon the long journey from Sirsha Parbata to Nâga Vâsa. There having arrived, and having made púja to the self-existent, he began to circumambulate the lake, beseeching all the while the aid of SWAYAMBHU in prayer. In the second circuit, when he had reached the central barrier mountain on the south, he became satisfied that that was the best place whereat to draw off the waters of the lake. Immediately he struck the mountain with his scimitar, when the sundered rock gave passage to the waters, and the bottom of the lake became dry. He then descended from the mountain, and began to walk about the valley in all directions. As he approached Guhyéswari,* he beheld the water bubbling up violently from the spot, and betook himself with pious zeal to the task of stopping it. No sooner had he commenced than the ebullition of the water became less violent, when, leaving bare only the flower of the lotos, the root of which was the abode of Guhyéswari, he erected a protecting structure of stone and brick over the recumbent stalk, and called the structure, which rose into a considerable elevation as it neared the flower of the lotos, *Satya Giri.* This work completed, MANJU SRI began to look about him in search of a fit place of residence, and at length constructed for that purpose a small hill, to which he gave the name of MANJU SRI Parbata, (the western half of the little hill of Sambhú Nath,) and called the desiccated valley, *Népálá—Né* signifying the sender (to paradise,) who is SWAYAMBHU; and *pála,* cherished, implying that the protecting genius of the valley was SWAYAMBHU or ADI BUDDHA. Thus the valley got the name of Népálá: and, since very many persons had come from Mount Sirsha [or China]

* The site of the temple is near the centre of the valley, on the skirts of the lovely grove of Pasupati; and above 2½ or 3 miles east from mount Sambhu. The fable says, that the root of the lotos of Guhyeswari was at the former place, and the flower at the latter; the recumbent stalk being extended throughout the interval between them. SWAYAMBHU or ADI BUDDHA is supposed to reside in the flower, in the form of flame; PRAJANA PARAMITA or GUHYESWARI, in or at the root, in the form of water.

with MANJU SRI, for the residence of DHARMAKAR Raja and his suite, MANJU constructed a large place of abode, half way between Mount Swayambhu and Guhyéswari, and named it after himself, *Manja Pattana*, and established therein DHARMAKAR [of Maha China,] as Raja, subjecting the whole of the inferior sort of people who came from Sirsha Parbata to DHARMAKAR's rule, and providing abodes for them in the city of Manja Pattana.

Thus was Nepaul peopled: the first inhabitants of which came all from Mount Sirsha [which is in Maha China,] and thus the valley got the name of Népálá, and its inhabitants that of Népálí, [whose primitive language was Chinese.] [This language in course of time came to be much altered by the emigration of people from Madhya Désa, and by the necessary progress of corruption and change in a new country, till a new language arose in Nepaul by the natural course of things. The primitive inhabitants of Nepaul were all of one caste, or had no caste. But their descendants, in the course of time, became divided into many castes, according to the trades and professions which they followed; and of these, such as abandoned the world and shaved their heads, became Bhikshu, Sramana, Chailaka, and Arhana, and took up their abode in forests or in monasteries. The latter four orders are all ascetical; and in strictness absolutely excluded from all worldly commerce. But should any of them, still retaining the custom of tonsure, become worldly men, such are called Srávaka, &c. to a great extent of diverse names.] MANJU SRI, having by such deeds as these acquired the highest celebrity in Nepaul, ostensibly, and for the instruction of the people, relinquished his mortal form, and became *nirván;* but, in truth, departed for Mount Sirsha with his two Dévis, and in due course arrived at Pancha Sirsha Parbata. Some time after the disappearance of MANJU SRI [in the Trita yuga] KARKUT SAND BUDDHA came to Nepaul, with some Bhikshukas, DHARMAPALA Raja, and a multitude of the common people, from Kshêmâvatinagar, of Madhya Désa. The beauty of the country delighted him, and he remarked that in such a land the cultivator must be sure to reap as he sowed. He paid his devotions to SWAYAMBHU, and then launched out in praise of the merits of

MANJU SRI, the Nepaulese patriarch. Afterwards, he performed púja to Guhyéswari, and then ascended Sankhocha mountain (Siva Púra:) the prospect of the valley from that mount filled him with fresh delight, and he again celebrated the excellence of the country. GUNADHVAJA, a brahman, and ABHAYANDADA, a kshetriya, and others of the four castes (chatúr varana,) respectful followers of KURKUT SAND, here solicited at his hands the favour of being made Bhikshukas, in order that they might remain in this happy land, and by the worship of SWAYAMBHU attain to high merit and honour. KURKUT cheerfully complied, and agreed to make a great many of the company Bhikshukas; and since the mountain top afforded no water for that ceremony, he by his divine power caused a spring to issue from the rock, and with its waters gave to his followers the requisite Abhishêka or baptism. He called the river that originated with this spring Vángmati;* and then related to his followers both the past and future history of the valley watered by the Vángmati. Then, having left behind him at Nepaul, Raja DHARMAPAL and some Bhikshus and common folks, who had come with him, and desired to stay, KURKUT SAND departed with the rest of them to his native city of Kshemávati. These companions of KURKUT SAND, or KRAKUCCHAND, were the first natives of the plains of India (Madhya Désa) who remained in Nepaul. Many of them, addicting themselves to the business of the world, became householders and the founders of several towns and villages in Nepaul; whilst others, who adopted the ascetical profession, dwelt in the forests and Vihárs. When these Madhyadésiyas had become numerous in Nepaul, they and their descendants were confounded with the former or northern colonists under the common appellation of Népáli and Néwárí; being only separated and contradistinguished by the several trades and professions which they hereditarily practised. Thus, in the early ages, Nepaul had four classes of secular people, as Brahman, Kshetriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, and four ascetical classes, namely, Bhikshu, Sramana, Chailaka, and Arhanta, dwelling in forests and monasteries; and all were *Buddh-márgi.*

* From *Vach*, speech.

### *Account of Dharmákar Raja and Dharmapál Raja.*

DHARMAKAR, the before noted Chinese prince of Nepaul, being disgusted with the world, abandoned his sovereign power, and placed *Dharmapál*, the Raja of Gour-dés, already mentioned, upon his throne. *Dharmapál* governed his subjects with perfect justice and clemency, and made púja at the Chaitya erected by DHARMAKAR, and regarded with equal favour his subjects that came from Mount Sirsha [or Maha China,] and those who emigrated from Madhya-dés.

*Account of Prachanda Deva.*—PRACHANDA DEVA, a Raja of Gour-dés, (which is adjacent to Madhya-dés,) and of the Kshetriya tribe, was the wise man of his age and country. At length, being inspired with the ambition of becoming *nirvan*, he abandoned his princely sway; and taking with him a few sages, he began to wander over various countries, visting all the shrines and pilgrimages, and in the course of his peregrinations arrived at Nepaul. He was delighted with the beauty of the country, and having visited every *tirtha*, and *pith*, and *devata*, and having made púja to the *Tri Ratna*, or triad, he went to the temple of SWAYAMBHU, and there performed his devotions. He then ascended MANJU SRI Parbat, and offered his prayers to MANJU SRI, and finished by becoming a disciple of GUNAKAR BHIKSAU, a follower of MANJU SRI. One day PRACHANDA DEVA so delighted GUNAKAR with the display of his excellent qualities, that GUNAKAR made him a Bhikshuka, and the said Raja PRACHANDA after becoming a Bhikshu obtained the titular appellation of SANTA SRI. A great many brahmans and others who accompanied PRACHANDA to Nepaul received the tonsure, and became Bhikshus at the same time with PRACHANDA, and took up their abode in the monasteries of Nepaul. Some others of those that came with PRACHANDA to Nepaul preferring the pursuits of the world, continued to exercise them in Nepaul, where they also remained and became Buddhists. A third portion of PRACHANDA's companions returned to Gour-dés. After a time, SANTA SRI represented to his Gúrú GUNAKAR his desire to protect the sacred flame of SWAYAMBHU with a covering structure. GUNAKAR was charmed with

the proposition and proposer, and having purified him with 13 sprinklings of sacred water (*trayodas abhiséka,*) gave him the title of Dikshita Santikar Vajra Achárya. [From these transactions is dated the arrival of the people of Gour-dés at Nepaul, and their becoming Buddhists.]

*Account of Kanaka Muni.*—Once on a time, from Súbhávati-nagar of Madhya-dés, KANAKA MUNI BUDDHA, with many disciples, some illustrious persons, and a countless multitude of common people, arrived at Nepaul, in the course of his religious peregrinations, and spent some months in the worship of SWAYAMBHU, and the Tri Ratna, and then departed with most of his attendants. A few remained at Nepaul, became Buddh-márgi and worshippers of SWAYAMBHU; [and these too, like all the preceding, soon lost their name and character as Madhya-désiyas, and were blended with the Népálí or Néwárí race.

*Account of Káshyapa Buddha.*—Once on a time, in Mrigadâba-vana, near Benares, KASHYAPA BUDDHA was born. He visited Nepaul in pilgrimage, and made his devotions to Sambhunath. [Most of the people who came with him staid in Nepaul, and soon became confounded with the aborigines.]

*Account of Sákya Sinha Buddha.*—Some time after KASHYAPA's visit, in the beginning of Kali yuga,] on the shores of Ganga Sâgara, in the sthan of KAPILA MUNI, and city of Kapila-vasta, and reign of SADHODANA Raja, of the Sâkya vansa, was born (as the son of that Raja) SARVARTHA SIDDHA, who afterwards became a Buddha with the name of SAKYA SINHA. SAKYA, with 1350 Bhikshukas, and the Raja of Benares, several counsellors of state, and a crowd of peasantry of that kingdom, set out on the pilgrimage to Nepaul. Having paid his devotions to the self-existent, in the form of flame, he went to the Chaitya on Púchhágra Hill, and repeated to his disciples the past history of Nepaul, as well as its whole future history, with many praises of MANJU SRI BODHISATWA: he then observed, "In all the world are 24 *Piths*, and of all these that of Nepaul is the best." Having so said, he departed. His companions, who were of the Chatur vàrana, or four castes, [Brahman, Kshetriya, Vaisya, and Súdra,] and belong-

ed to the four orders, [Bhikshu, and Sramana, and Chailaka, and Arhanta,] being much pleased with Népâl-dés continued to dwell in it; [and in course of time were blended with the aboriginal Népálís, and became divided into several castes, according to the avocations which they hereditarily pursued.] Some time after the date of the above transaction, Raja GUNAKAMA DEVA, prince of Cathmandú, a principal city of Nepaul, became the disciple of the above-mentioned Sántikar Vajra Achârya. GUN KAM DEVA, with the aid derived from the divine merits of Sántikar, brought the Nág Raja KARKUTAKA out of the lake or tank of Adhâr, and conveyed him to Sántipúr with much ceremony and many religious rites. The *cause* of this act was that for many previous years there had been a deficiency of rain, whereby the people had been grievously distressed with famine; and its *consequence* was, an ample supply of rain, and the return of the usual fertility of the earth and plenty of food.

Subsequently, SRI NARENDRA DEVA became Raja of Bhagat-pattan, (or Bhatgaon;) he was the disciple of BANDUDATTA ACHARYA, and brought ARYAVALOKITESWARA (Padma Páni) from Pútalakáparvat (in Assam) to the city of Lalita pattan in Nepaul. The reason of inviting this divinity to Nepaul was a drought of 12 years' duration, and of the greatest severity. The measure was attended with like happy results, as in the case of conveying the NAG Raja with so much honour to Sántipúr.

---

## No. IX.

### REMARKS ON AN INSCRIPTION IN THE RANJA AND TIBETAN (U'CHHEN) CHARACTERS,

*Taken from a Temple on the Confines of the Valley of Nepaul.*

(Printed from the Bengal Asiatic Journal, No. 40, A. D. 1835.)

On the main road from the valley of Nepaul to Tibet, by the Eastern or Kúti Pass of the Hemáchal, and about two miles be-

yond the ridge of hills environing the valley, there stands a diminutive stone *chaitya,* supported, as usual, by a wide, graduated, basement.

Upon the outer surface of the retaining walls of this basement are inscribed a variety of texts from the Bauddha Scriptures, and amongst others, the celebrated Shad-Akshari Mantra, *Om Mani Padme Hom.* This is an invocation of PADMA PANI, the 4th Dhyáni Bodhisatwa, and præsens Divus of the Theistic school of Buddhists—with an accessary mention of their triad, under that symbolic, literal form which is common to them and to the Brahmanists.* It is not, however, my present purpose to dwell upon the real and full import of these words; but to exhibit the inscription itself, as an interesting specimen of the practical conjunction of those two varieties of the Devanágari letters which may be said to belong respectively and appropriately to the Saugatas of Nepaul and of Tibet. Not that *both* forms have not been long familiar to the Tibetans, but that they still consider, and call, that one *foreign* and *Indian* which the Nepaulese Bauddha Scriptures exhibit as the ordinary ecriture; and which, though allowed by the Nepaulese to be Indian, and though most certainly deduceable from the Devanágari standard, is not now, nor has been for ages, extant in any part of India.

It is peculiarly Nepaulese; and all the old Sanscrit works of the Bauddhas of Nepaul are written in this character, or, in the cognate style denominated Bhujin Múlá—which latter, however, I do but incidentally name. I wish here to draw attention to the fact that that form of writing or system of letters called Lantza in Tibet, and there considered foreign and Indian, though no where extant in the plains of India, is the *common vehicle of the Sanscrit language amongst the Bauddhas of Nepaul proper,* by whom it is denominated Ranjá, and written thus, in Devanágari रंजा; *Ranjá* therefore, and not according to a barbarian metamorphosis *Lantza,* it *should* be called by us; and, by way of further and clearer

* Viz. the triliteral syllable Om, composed of the letters A, U, and M, typifiing, with the Brahmanists, Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesa—but with the Buddhists, Buddha, Dharma, and Sanga.

distinction, the Nepaulese variety of Devanágari. Obviously deducible as this form is, from the Indian standard, and still enshrined as it is in numerous *Sanscrit* works, it is an interesting circumstance to observe it, in *practical collocation* with the ordinary Tibetan form—likewise, undoubtedly Indian, but far less easily traceable to its source in the Devanágari alphabet, and devoted to the expression of a language *radically different from Sanscrit.* Nor when it is considered that Ranjá is the common extant vehicle of those original Sanscrit works of which the Tibetan books are translations, will the interest of an inscription, traced *on one slab in both characters,* be denied to be considerable. Singular indications, indeed, are these of that gradual process of transplantation, whereby a large portion of Indian literature was naturalized beyond the Himálaya, as well as of the gradual eradication of that literature from the soil of its birth, where, for four centuries probably, the *very memory of it* has passed away!* Those who are engaged at present in decyphering ancient inscriptions would do well, I conceive, to essay the tracing, through Ranjá and Bhujin Múlá,† of the transmutation of Devanágari into the Tibetan alphabet. In conclusion, I may observe, that this habit of promulgating the *mantras* of their faith, by inscriptions patent on the face of religious edifices, is peculiar to the Tibetan Buddhists, those of Nepaul considering it a high crime thus to subject them to vulgar, and perchance uninitiated utterance.

The Tibetan sentiment and practice are, in *this* respect, both the more orthodox and the more rational. But in another important respect, the Nepaulese followers of Buddha are far more rational at least, if far less orthodox, than their neighbours: for they have utterly rejected that absurd and mischievous adherence to religious mendicancy and monachism which still distinguishes the Tibetans.‡

* The very names of the numerous Sanscrit Buddha works recently discovered in Nepaul were totally unknown to the Pandits of the plains, who received the announcement of the discovery with absolute disbelief.

† All the four systems of letters are given in the 16th volume of the Asiatic Researches.

‡ The curious may like to know that Tibetan Buddhism is distinguished from

I need hardly add, after what has been just stated, that the circumstance of the inscriptions being *mantras* proves the temple or *chaitya*, adverted to, to be the work of Tibetans, though existing on the very confines of Nepaul proper—a fact indeed which, on the spot, wants no *such* confirmation. It is notorious; and is referrible to times when Tibetan influence was predominant on this side of the Himálaya. The great temple of *Khása chit*, standing in the midst of the valley of Nepaul, is still exclusively appropriated by the Trans-Himálayans.

*Note.*—So much has been published on the subject of the mystical *mantra* above alluded to, that it is unnecessary to do more than direct the attention of the reader to the learned dissertation by Georgi in the Alphabetum Tibetanum, page 500, &c. and to a more recent elucidation of the same subject in Klaproth's Fragmens Bouddhiques in the Journ. Asiatique, Mars, 1831, p. 27. —The *mantra* is quite unknown to the Buddhists of Ceylon and the Eastern Peninsula, and it forms a peculiar feature of the Tibetan Buddhism, shewing its adoption of much of the Brahmanical mystic philosophy. A wooden block, cut in Tibet for printing the very passage in the two characters, and from its appearance of some antiquity, is deposited in the museum of the Asiatic Society.—Ed.

---

*Note.*—M. Klaproth, in his memoir in the Nouveau Journal Asiatique, where he has brought so much of the erudition of Eastern and Central Asia to bear upon this Buddhist formulary, attaches himself to two versions principally, as preferable to all that he finds elsewhere among Tibetans, Mongolians, and Chinese. The former is, "Oh precieux Lotus! Amen," on the supposition of ओंमणि पद्म हूं being the true reading; but if it be read,

from Nepaulese, *solely* by the two features above pointed out—unless we must add a qualified subjection on the part of the Saugatas of Nepaul to caste, from which the Tibetans are free; but which in Nepaul is a merely popular usage stript of the sanction of religion, and altogether a very different thing from caste, properly so called.

*Inscription on a Chaitya at Dánragáon, 15 Miles E. of Kathmandu.*

Tibetan Characters.

ཨོཾམཎིཔདྨེཧཱུྃ ཨོཾམཎིཔདྨེཧཱུྃ

Ranja Characters

Oriental Lith: Press— Calcutta.

as he justly prefers, ओं मणिपद्मे हूं "Oh! le joyau est dans le Lotus. Amen."

There is no objection to the former translation, that of "*Om manipadma húm*:" for the two nouns cannot be read as *separate* vocatives, "Oh jewel! Oh Lotus!" (as M. Csoma de Körös informs us it is understood in Tibet,) without reading *mané* मणें instead of मणि.

The latter translation of "*Om mani padmé húm*" is not equally admissible: for it would require indispensably by grammatical rule, either the insertion of a Visarga after *mani*, or the substitution of a long *i* for the short one, so distinctly marked in the inscription; i.e. the nominative मणिः or मणी instead of the crude form मणि. The junction of the two nouns in one compound is therefore as necessary in the reading of the locative case, as in that of the vocative; and this makes it necessary to translate it thus: "AUM (i. e. the mystic triform divinity) is in the jewel-like Lotus. Amen." The legend cited by M. Klaproth respecting Buddha apply as well to this version of the formulary as to his. I hope that Mr. Hodgson may hereafter favour us with the import of these words, as explained in the yet unexplored treasures of *Sanscrit* Buddhist literature in Nepaul."—W. H. M.

*Note.*—In reply to the query of my annotator, I beg to say, that the true sense of the mantra is, 'The mystic triform Deity is in him of the Jewel and the Lotos' id est, in Padma Pani, the fourth Dhyani Bodhisatwa, but lord of the ascendant *at present*, and therefore associated with Buddha and Dharma as the third person of the Triad; for this muntra is one of three, addressed to the three persons.

# No. X.

## ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO THE RUINS OF SIMROUN, ONCE THE CAPITAL OF THE MITHILA PROVINCE.

[*In a letter to the Editor.*]

(Printed from the Bengal Asiatic Journal, No. 39, A. D. 1835.)

I trust that the drawings and inscriptions lately sent you from Bakra, Mathiah, Rádhiah, and Késariah, will serve to draw attention towards the remains of Buddhist science and power still extant in this direction—the Mithila, or Maithila Désa of the Sástras, and North Bihár of the Moghuls. But it is not merely on the British side of the boundary that these astonishing traces of ancient civilization exist; for, in the Nepaulese Taraï, also within a few miles of the hills, where now (or recently) the tiger, wild boar, and wild buffalo usurp the soil, and a deadly malaria infects the atmosphere for three-fourths of the year, similar vestiges are to be found. The Nepaulese Taraï is synominous amongst Europeans with pestilential jungle. It was in the halls of Janakpur, however, that the youthful RAMA sought a bride: it was from the battlements of Simroun that the last of the Déva dynasty defied so long the imperial arms of TOGLAK SHAH!

But the ruins of Janakpur and of Simroun *still exist* in the Nepaulese low-lands: and he who would form a just idea of what the Hindoos of Mithila achieved prior to the advent of the Moslems must bend his pilgrim steps from the columns of Rádhiah and of Mathiah, in the British territories, to the last but still astonishing vestiges of the cities of Kings JANAKA and NANYUPA, in those of Nepaul.

Of the Nepaulese Taraï it might justly be said, until very lately,

> 'A goodly place it was in days of yore,
> But something ails it now: the place is cursed.'

Five centuries of incessant struggle between Moslem bigotry and

Hindoo retaliation had indeed stricken this border land with the double curse of waste and pestilence. Nature, as it were, in very scorn of the vile passions of man, having turned the matchless luxuriance of the soil and climate into the means of debarring his future access! Such *was* the Nepaulese Taraï until 1816. But since that period the peace and alliance existing between the two efficient Governments of the hills and the plains have given security to the borderers, and man is now fast resuming his ancient tenure of this fertile region. Still, however, there is little temptation or opportunity for Europeans to enter it; and as chance recently conducted me past the ruins of Simroun, I purpose to give you a hasty sketch of what I saw and heard: because these ruins are evidently disjecta membra of the same magnificent body to which the mausoleum of Késariah, and the solitary columns of Mathiah, of Rádhiah, and of Bakhra belong. About 15 miles from the base of the hills, and at a nearly equal distance from the Bágmatty, south of the former, and west of the latter, stand the remains of Simroun, in the Nepaulese district of Rotahat, and opposite to the Champarun division of the British zillah of Sarun.

The boundary of Nepaul and of our territories confines the ruins to the south, and the Jamuni Nadí to the west. On the *immediate* east lies the village of Kachorwa, and on the north, that of Bhagwánpur, both belonging to Nepaul. Here, in the midst of a dense jungle, 12 miles probably in circuit, rife with malaria, and abounding in tigers, wild boar, and spotted axis, are secluded these wonderful traces of the olden time. The country around is well cultivated *now*, both on our and the Nepaulese side, but no one presumes to disturb the slumber of the genius of Simroun; superstition broods over the tainted atmosphere; and the vengeance of Káli is announced to the rash peasant who would dare to ply an axe, or urge a plough, within her appropriately desolate domain. It was only with difficulty that my elephants could make their way through the jungle; and when I had reached a central position, and ascended an elevation of some 25 feet, composed of the debris of the palace, nothing but a wilderness met my eye. Yet it is barely 500 years since Simroun was a pakka, fortified city,

the pride and the defence of Mithila! After the war with Nepaul, Lieutenant Boileau, I think, surveyed these ruins, and drew up a plan of them. What is become of it, I know not; and regret that my own opportunity of research was limited to one hasty visit. In this, however, I traced the northern wall, in all its extent: measured the dimensions of the great Pókrá or reservoir called Isrá; and clambered to the top of what were once the citadel and the Ráni-bás or Mahal Saraï. On my return I had much conversation with an intelligent Brahman of Bhagwánpur, who told me that in April and May, when the jungle is at its barest state, the form and extent of the city may be distinctly traced. From his communications, and from my own observations, I gather that the form of the city is a parallelogram, surrounded by an outer and an inner wall, the former of unburnt, the latter of burnt, brick—the one having a compass of seven cos, and the other, of about five cos.

On the eastern side, six or seven wet ditches may still be traced, outside the pakka wall, and three or four on the western side. The Isrá reservoir or tank is still perfect. It is 333 paces along each greater, and 210 along each shorter, face; and its containing walls or sides consist of the finest burnt bricks, each of which is a cubit square, and nearly a maund in weight. 50 to 60 yards of causeway, constructed of similar bricks or tiles, are yet entire in the neighbourhood of the palace; and vestiges of the same causeway, traceable at other points, indicate that all the streets of the city were of this careful and expensive structure. The remains of the palace, of the citadel, and of the temple of the tutelary goddess, exhibit finely carved stone basements, with superstructures of the same beautifully moulded and polished bricks for which the temples and places of the valley of Nepaul are so justly celebrated. I measured some of the basement stones, and found them each 5 feet long by 1½ broad and deep: and yet these blocks must have been brought from a distance of 25 miles at least, and *over* the lesser range of hills; for, till you come to the second or mountainous and rocky range, no such material is to be had.

Some twenty idols, extricated from the ruins by the pious la-

bour of a Gosain, are made of stone, and are superior in sculpture to modern specimens of the art. Many of them are much mutilated; and of those which are perfect, I had only time to observe that they bore the ordinary attributes of Puránic Brahmanism. Not a single inscription has yet been discovered: but wherefore speak of discovery where there has been no search? I noticed four or five pakka wells round, and each having a breast-work about three feet above the ground, similar precisely to the wells of this valley.

What I have called the citadel is styled on the spot the *Kotwáli Choutara*, and my palace is the *Ráni-bás*. The latter has a very central position. The Kotwáli Choutara is in the northern quarter; and the great tank, called Isrá Pokrá, is about ¾ of a mile from the north-east corner of the city wall. As already mentioned, the last is still complete: the two former exist only as tumuli, some 20 to 25 feet high; and more or less coated with earth and trees.

Hindu tradition, eked out by a couple of Sanscrit slokas, a copy of which I subjoin, asserts that Simroun was founded by NANYUPA DEVA, A. D. 1097; that six* of the dynasty reigned there with great splendour; and that the sixth, by name HARI SINHA DEVA, was compelled to abandon his capital and kingdom, and take refuge in the hills A. D. 1322. The Moslem annals give 1323 for the date of the destruction of Simroun by TOGLAK SHAH. Of the accuracy of the latter date there can be no doubt; nor is the difference between the Musalmán and Hindú chronology of the least moment. But, unless NANYUPA had more than five successors, we cannot place the foundation of Simroun higher than about 1200 A. D. That is *clearly* too recent; and, in fact, no part of the tradition can be trusted but that vouched by the memorial verses, which only give the date of *destruction*.

*Memorial verses of the founding and desertion of Simroun.*

रामस्थवित्तं नलराजवित्तं पुरूरवाविन्तमलर्कराजः
दम्भदात्मसमुद्दत्यनिषात्मनागं श्रीनात्पदेवोनिरमात्स्व गर्त्तम् ।१॥

* 1. Nanyupa. 2. Ganga. 3. Nara Sinha. 4. Rama Sinha. 5. Sakti Sinha. 6. Hari Sinha, all with the cognomen *Deva*.

वाणाब्धियुग्मशशि सम्मित शाकवर्षे पौषस्य शुक्लनवमी रविसूनुवारे ।
त्यक्त्वास्वापट्टनपुरं हरसिंहदेवो दुर्दैवदेशितपथायगिरिं विवेश ।१॥—

The following is the substance of these memorial verses:

'The wealth accumulated by Rájás RAMA, NALA, PURURAVA, and ALARKA, was preserved in a tank (that of Isrá,) and guarded by a serpent. NANYUPA DEVA destroyed the serpent; appropriated the wealth; and built (Simroun) Garh with it. (His descendant) HARI SINHA, compelled by cruel fate, abandoned his beautiful city, and went to the hills in the year of the Saka 1245.'

The kingdom of the Déva dynasty in the plains expired with the destruction or desertion of Simroun. It extended from the Kosi to the Gandak, and from the Ganges to the hills of Nepaul: at least, such were its limits in the days of its greatest splendour, when consequently it embraced *all* the several localities from which I have recently forwarded to you such signal memorials of Hindu power and science.

---

## No. XI.

### NOTE ON THE PRIMARY LANGUAGE OF THE BUDDHIST WRITINGS.

*To the Editor, Journal Asiatic Society.*

(Printed from the Bengal Asiatic Journal, No. 68, A. D. 1837.)

I have read article II. of the 66th No. of your Journal with great interest. With regard to the language in which the religion of SAKYA, 'was preached and spread among the people,' I perceive nothing opposed to my own opinions in the fact that that language was the vernacular.

There is merely in your case, as priorly in that of Mr. TURNOUR, some misapprehension of the sense in which I spoke to that point. The preaching and spreading of the religion is a very different thing from the elaboration of those speculative principles from

which the religion was deduced. In the one case, the appeal would be to the many; in the other, to the few. And whilst I am satisfied that the Buddhists as practical reformers addressed themselves to the people, and as propagandists used the vulgar tongue, I think that those philosophical dogmata which formed the basis of the popular creed, were enounced, defended and systematised in Sanskrit. I never alleged that the Buddhists had eschewed the Prákrits: I only denied the allegation that they had eschewed the Sanskrit; and I endeavoured, at the same time, to reconcile their use of *both*, by drawing a distinction between the means employed by their philosophers to establish the principles of this religion, and the means employed by their missionaries to propagate the religion itself.

JOINVILLE had argued that Buddhism was an original creed, older than Brahmanism, because of the grossness of its leading tenets which savour so much of 'flat atheism.'

I answered that Buddhism was an innovation on the existing creed, and that all the peculiarities of the religion of SAKYA could be best and only explained by advertence to shameful *prior abuse* of the *religious sanction*, whence arose the characteristic *Bauddha* aversion to gods and priests, and that enthusiastic self-reliance taught by Buddhism in express opposition to the servile extant reference of all things to heavenly and earthly mediation. JONES, again, had argued that the Buddhists used only the Prákrit because the books of *Ceylon* and *Ava*, (the only ones then forthcoming,*) were solely in that language or dialect. I answered by producing a whole library of Sanskrit works in which the principles of Buddhism are more fully expounded than in all the legendary tomes of *Ceylon* and *Ava;* I answered, further, by pointing to the abstruse philosophy of Buddhism, to the admitted preeminence, as *scholars*, of its expounders; and to their location in the most central and literary part of India (*Behar* and *Oude*).

* Sir W. JONES had, however, in his possession a Sanskrit copy of the *Lallita Vistara*, and had noticed the personification of Diva Natura under the style of Arya Tara.

With the Sanskrit at command, I asked and ask again, *why* men so placed and gifted, and having to defend their principles in the schools against ripe *scholars* from all parts of India (for those were days of high debate and of perpetual formal disputation in palaces and in cloisters) should be supposed to have resorted to a limited and feebler organ when they had the universal and more powerful one equally available? The presumption that they did *not* thus postpone Sanskrit to Prákrit is, in my judgment, worth a score of any inferences deduceable from monumental slabs, backed as this presumption is by the Sanscrit records of Buddhism discovered here. Those records came direct from the proximate head quarters of Buddhism. And, if the principles of this creed were not expounded and systematised in the schools of India in Sanskrit, what are we to make of the Nepaulese originals and of the avowed Tibetan translations? In my judgment the *extent* and *character* of these works settle the question that the philosophic founders of Buddhism used Sanskrit and Sanskrit only, to expound, defend and record the speculative principles of their system, principles without which the vulgar creed would be (for us,) mere leather and prunella! Nor is this opinion in the least opposed to your notion (mine too) that the *practical system* of *belief*, deduced from those principles, was spread among the people of the spot as well as propagated to remoter spots by means of the vernacular.

It is admitted that Buddhism was long taught in *Ceylon* without the aid of books: and that the first book reached that island nearly 300 years after the introduction of the creed.

Here is a distinct admission of what I long since inferred from the general character of the religion of Sakya in that island, viz. the protracted total want, and ultimate imperfect supply, of those standard written authorities of the sect which regulated belief and practice in *Magadha*, in *Kosala* and *Rájagriha*,—in a word, in the *Metropolis* of Buddhism. From this metropolis the authorities in question were transferred directly and *immediately* to the *proximate hills* of *Nepaul*, where and where only, I believe, they are now to be found. If not translations, the books of *Ceylon* have all the ap-

pearance of being ritual collectanea, legendary hearsays, and loose comments on received texts—all which would naturally be written in the vulgar tongue.* To these, however, we must add some very important historical annals, detailing the spread and diffusion of Buddhism. Similar annals are yet found in Tibet, but, as far as I know not in *Nepaul*, for what reason it is difficult to divine.

But these annals, however valuable to us, for historical uses, are not the original written standard of faith; and until I see the *Prajnâ Páramita* and the nine *Dharmas*† produced from *Ceylon*, I must continue of the opinion that the Buddhists of that island drew their faith from secondary, not primary sources; and that whilst the former were in *Ceylon* as elsewhere, vernacular; the latter were in *Magadha* and *Kosala*, as they are still in *Nepaul*, classical or Sanskrit!

Certainly Buddhism, considered in the practical view of a religious system, always appealed to the common sense and interest of the many, inscribing its most sacred texts (Sanskrit and Prákrit) on temple walls and on pillars, placed in market, high-road and cross-road.

This material fact (so opposite to the genius of Brahmanism,) I long since called attention to; and thence argued that the inscriptions on the láts would be probably found to be scriptural texts!

The tendency of your researches to prove that the elaborate forms of the Deva Nágarí were constructed from simpler elements, more or less appropriated to the popular Bháshás, is very curious; and seems to strengthen the opinion of those who hold Hindí to be indigenous, older than Sanskrit in India, and not (as COLEBROOKE supposed) deduced from Sanskrit. If Buddhism used these primitive letters before the Deva Nágarí existed, the date of this creed

* *Such* works written in the vulgar tongue are common in *Nepaul* and frequently we have a Sanskrit text with a vernacular running commentary.

† They *have* one of the 9, viz. the *Lallita Vistara;* but M. BURNOUF assures me, in a miserably corrupted state, Now, as this work is forthcoming in a faultless state in Sanskrit, I say the Pali version *must* be a translation. (Await Mr. TURNOUR's extracts and translations before pronouncing judgment.—ED.)

would seem to be thrown back to a remote æra, or, the Sanskrit letters and language must be comparatively recent.

I can trace something *very like* Buddhism, into far ages and realms: but I am sure that that Buddhism which has come down to us in the Sanskrit, Pálí and Tibetan books of the sect, and which only therefore we do or can *know*, is neither óld nor exotic. *That* Buddhism (the doctrines of the so called *seventh* Buddha) arose in the middle of India in comparatively recent times, and expressly out of those prior abominations which had long held the people of India in cruel vassalage to a bloated priesthood.

The race of *Sáka*, or progenitors of *Sákya Sinha* (by the way, the *Sinha* proves that the princely style was given to him until he assumed the ascetic habit) may have been Scythians or Northmen, in one sense; and so probably were the Brahmans in that same sense, viz. with reference to their original seat. (Brachmanes nomen gentis diffusissimæ, cujus maxima pars in montibus degit; reliqui circa Gangem.)

If one's purpose and object were to search backwards to the original hive of nations, one might, as in consistency one should, draw Brahmanism and Buddhism, VYASA and SAKYA, from Tartary. All I say is, that quoad the known and recorded man and thing—SAKYA SINHA and his tenets—they are indisputably Indian and recent.*

I incline to the opinion that Hindí may be older in India than Sanskrit, and independent, originally, of Sanskrit. But were this so, and were it also true that the Buddhists used the best dialect of Hindí (*that* however is saturated with Sanskrit, whatever its primal independence) such admissions would rather strengthen than weaken the argument from language against the exotic origin of Buddhism.†

* According to all Bauddha authorities the lineage of the whole seven mortal Buddhas is expressly stated to be Brahmanical or Kshetriya! What is the answer to this?

† Our own distinguished WILSON has too easily followed the continental European writers in identifying the *Saka vansa* with the classical Sacæ or Scythians, and Buddhism with Samanism. The Tartars of our day avow that they got all their knowledge from India: teste *Kahgyur* et *Stangyur*.

According to this hypothesis, Hindí is not less, but more, Indian than Sanskrit: and, â fortiori, so is the religion assumed to have committed its records to Hindí.

But, in very truth, the extant records of Buddhism, whether Sanskrit or Prákrit, exhibit both languages in a high state of refinement; and though one or both tongues came originally from Tartary, they received that refinement in India, where, certainly, what *we know* as Buddhism, (by means of these records) had its origin, long after Brahmanism had flourished there in all its mischievous might.

P. S. You will, I hope, excuse my having adverted to some other controverted topics besides that which your paper immediately suggested. These questions are, a good deal, linked together: for instance, if Buddhism furnishes *internal* evidence throughout its most authentic records that it is the express antithesis of Brahmanism, its posteriority of date to the latter is decided, *as well as* its *jealousy* of *priestly pretensions*. Nec clericis infinita aut libera potestas, is a deduction which only very precise and weighty evidence will suffice to set aside: I have seen none such yet from *Ceylon* or from *Ava*. And be it observed, I here advert to authentic scriptural tenets, and not to popular corruptions resulting from the facile confusion of the ascetic with the clerical profession.

---

*Note.* We are by no means prepared to enter into a controversy on a subject on which we profess but a slight and accidental acquaintance: nor will we arrogate to ourselves the distinction of having entered the lists already occupied by such champions as Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Turnour, who have both very strong arguments to bring forward, in support of their opposite views. As far as the *Dharmalipi* could be taken as evidence the vernacularists had the right to it; but on the other hand there can be no doubt, as Mr. Hodgson says, that all scholastic disputation with the existing Brahmanical schools which Sakya personally visited and overcame, must have been conducted in the classical language. The only question is, whether any of these early disquisitions have

been preserved, and whether, for example, the Life of SAKYA, called the *Lalita Vistára,* found by Professor WILSON to agree verbatim with the Tibetan translate examined simultaneously by Mr. CSOMA, has a greater antiquity than the *Pitakattayan* of *Ceylon?* We happen fortuitously to have received at this moment two letters bearing upon the point in dispute from which we gladly avail ourselves of an extract or two:—Mr. TURNOUR, alluding to the notice of the life of SAKYA from the Tibetan authorities by Mr. CSOMA in the As. Res. vol. xx. writes—"The Tibetan life is apparently a very meagre performance, containing scarcely any thing valuable in the department of history; whereas had the materials whence it was taken been genuine, the translator would have been able to bring forward and illustrate much valuable information on the pilgrimages and the acts of SAKYA in various parts of India during the 45 years he was *Buddha.* Even the superstitious facts recorded are much more absurd than they are represented in the *Pitakattayan.* Thus the *dream* of MAYA DEVI of having been rubbed by a *Chhadanta* elephant, during her pregnancy,—is converted into a matter of fact, of SAKYA, 'in the form of an elephant having entered by the right side into the womb or cavity of the body of MAYA DEVI!' '*Chhadanta*' is taken literally as a *six-tusked* elephant, whereas by our books *Chhadanta* is the name of a lake beyond the *Himálaya* mountains where the elephants are of a superior breed. It is mentioned twice in the Maháwanso (Chaps. 5 and 22)."

If the rationality of a story be a fair test of its genuineness, which few will deny, the *Páli* record will here bear away the palm:—but it is much to be regretted that we have not a complete translation of the Sanskrit and of the Ceylonese "life" to place side by side. It is impossible that instruction should not be gained by such an impartial examination.* But to return to the subject

* As an example of the information already obtained from Mr. Csoma's translated sketch, we may adduce the origin of the custom seemingly so universal among the Buddhists of preserving pictorial or sculptured representations of the facts of his life.—After his death the priests and minister at *Rajagriha* are afraid of telling the king AJATA SATRU thereof lest he should faint from the

under discussion; my friend Mr. Csoma writes from *Titalya* in the *Purniya* district:—

"In reference to your and Mr. Turnour's opinion that the original records of the Buddhists in ancient India, were written in the *Mágadhí* dialect, I beg leave to add in support of it, that in the index or register (དཀར་ཆག d*kar-chhag*) of the *Kahgyur*, it is stated that the *Sútras* in general—*i. e.* all the works in the *Kahgyur* except the 21 volumes of the *Sher-chhin* and the 22 volumes of the r*Gyud* རྒྱུད class, after the death of Shakya, were first written in the *Sindhu* language and the *Sher-chhin* and r*Gyud* in the Sanskrit: but part of the r*Gyud* also in several other corrupt dialects. It is probable that in the seventh century and afterwards, the ancient Buddhistic religion was remodelled and generally written in Sanskrit, before the Tibetans commenced its introduction by translation into their own country."

This explanation, so simple and so authentic, ought to set the matter at rest, and that in the manner that the advocates of either view should most desire, for it shews that both are right! —It is generally allowed that the *Pálí* and the *Zend* are derivatives of nearly the same grade from the Sanskrit stock; and the modern dialect of Sinde as well as the *Bháshá* of upper and western India present more striking analogies to the *Pálí*, in the re-

the shock, and it is suggested by Maha'kashyapa by way of breaking the intelligence to him, that the *Mahamantra* or chief priest should "go speedily into the king's garden, and cause to be represented in painting, how Chomdandas (*Bhagavan*) was in *Tushita*: how in the shape of an elephant he entered his mother's womb: how at the foot of the holy fig-tree he attained supreme perfection: how at *Varanasi* he turned the wheel of the law of twelve kinds, (taught his doctrines:)—how he at *Sravasti* displayed great miracles;—how at the city of *Ghachen* he descended from the *Traya Strinsha* heaven, whither he had gone to instruct his mother:—and lastly, how having accomplished his acts in civilizing and instructing men in his doctrine at several places, he went to his last repose in the city of *Kusha* in *Assam*." Now whether the book in question was written sooner or later, it explains the practice equally and teaches us how we may successfully analyze the events depicted in the drawings of *Adjanta*, perchance, or the sculptures of *Bhilsa*, with a full volume of the life of *Shakya* in our hand. Similar paintings are common in *Ava*, and an amusing, but rather aprocryphal, series may be seen in Upham's folio history of Buddhism.

moval particularly of the *r*, and the modification of the auxiliary verbs, than any of the dialects of *Bengal*, *Behar*, or *Ceylon*.* Plausible grounds for the existence of this western dialect in the heart of *Magadha*, and the preference given it in writings of the period, may be found in the origin of the ruling dynasty of that province, which had confessedly proceeded from the north-west. At any rate those of the *Sákya* race, which had emigrated from *Sinde* to *Kapila vastu* (somewhere in the *Gangetic* valley) may have preserved the idiom of this native province and have caused it to prevail along with the religion which was promulgated through its means.

We are by no means of opinion that the *Hindí*, *Sindhí*, or *Pálí* had an independent origin prior to the *Sanskrit*. The more the first of these, which is the most modern form and the farthest removed from the classical language, is examined and analyzed, the more evidently is its modification and corruption from the ancient stock found to follow systematic rules, and to evince rather provincial dialectism (if I may use the word) than the mere engraftment of foreign words upon a pre-existent and written language. The aboriginal terms of Indian speech must be rather sought in the hills and in the peninsula; in the plains and populous districts of the north the evidences of their existence are necessarily smothered by the predominance of the refined and durable languages of the court, of religion, and of the educated classes. A writer in the Foreign Quarterly has lately been bold enough to revive the theory of Sanskrit being merely a derivative from the Greek through the intervention of the Zend, and subsequent to the Macedonian invasion! The Agathocles' coin ought to answer all such speculations. The *Pálí* of that day along with its appropriate symbols is proved to have held the same precise derivative relation to the Sanskrit as it does now—for the records on which we argue are not modern, but of that very period. All we still want is to find some graven Brahmanical record of the same period to shew the character then in use for writing Sanskrit; and to

* See the Rev. Dr. Mill's note on this subject in the Jour. Asiat. Soc. vol. v. p. 30; also Professor Wilson's remarks, vol. i. page 8.

add ocular demonstration to the proofs afforded by the profound researches of philologists as to the genuine antiquity of the venerable depository of the Vedas.—Ed.

---

## No. XII.

(Printed from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.)

EXTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

*January*, 1836.

The Secretary then read the following létter addressed to him by Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq. the Hon. East India Company's Political Resident in Nepaul:—

" *Nepaul, April 2d*, 1835.

"My dear Sir,—Through Dr. Wallich I have recently had the honour to transmit to you a copy of the *Sata Sahasrika Prajna Paramita*, or *Raksha Bhagavati*, as it is more commonly called here; and, in the course of the year, I trust to be enabled to send to you copies of the nine works denominated the *Nava Dharma*. They will be followed by despatches of the other Pauránika and Tántrika books of the Saugatas, of which the names are enumerated in my Sketch of Buddhism.

"It is my hope and my ambition to be able to deposit in your archives a complete series of these original Sanskrit depositories of Bauddha philosophy and religion; in the conviction that in them *only* can be traced with success the true features of a system which is far too subtle and complex to be apprehended through the medium of such languages as those of the Tibetans and Mongolians;—and which system demands our best attention, not less on account of its having divided with Bráhmanism the empire of opinion for ages, within the limits of India proper, than for its unparalleled extension beyond those limits in more recent times, and up to the present day. It is probable, that, during four or five centuries at least, Buddhism was as influential within the

bounds of the continent of India as Bráhmanism; and, it is certain, that the period of its greatest influence there was synchronous with the brightest era of the intellectual culture of that continent. The Bráhmans themselves attest, again and again, the philosophical acumen and literary abilities of their detested rivals; and, upon the whole, I fancy it can hardly be too much to assert, that, until the speculations and arguments of *Sákya*, and his successors, are as well known to us as those of *Vyása* and his, we must remain, with respect to the knowledge of the Indian philosophy of mind, and its collateral topics, pretty much in the condition which we should be in, with regard to the same sciences in Europe, were the records of Protestant sagacity obliterated, and those of Catholic ingenuity alone left us to judge of and decide by.

"As to the importance of a knowledge of the speculative tenets of Buddhism, with a view to complete the history of Indian philosophy and intellectual culture, there may be some difference of opinion; but there can be none respecting the desirableness of drawing from *original* and adequate sources our notions of that existing system of faith which, for the number of its followers, surpasses every religion on the face of the earth. Not to mention that the researches of every year furnish us with fresh presumptions in favour of the former prevalence of Buddhism in wide regions where it is now superseded by Islámism, or by Christianity. The works which it is my purpose to deposit copies of in the library of your Society, constitute such original and adequate sources of information respecting the *Saugatas*. They are all written in the Sanskrit language, are of vast extent, and embrace numerous treatises belonging to the *Tántrika*, as well as the *Pauránika* class. Till very recently, works of the former order were withheld from me, owing to religious scruples; but I have, within the last year, procured several, am daily obtaining more, and am now of opinion, that nearly the whole contents of the immense *Kahgyúr* and *Stangyúr* collections of Tibet may yet be had in the original Sanskrit in Nepaul. Such being the case, I do not intend (unless the Society express a wish to that effect)

to continue the transmission of the Tibetan series; nor to make any additions to those volumes of the *Yúm* division of the *Kah-gyúr*, which were sent to you along with the *Sata Sahasrika*, in the original Sanskrit, because I am quite confident the Tibetan translations are infinitely inferior to the Sanskrit originals; and because there are as yet no Tibetan scholars in Europe.

"The general opinion amongst Europeans seems to be, that the *Bauddha* sages committed their doctrines to the Pálí language rather than to the Sanskrit,—an opinion founded, as I presume, upon the fact, that the *Buddhist* works extant in Ceylon are in the Pálí, as well as those of the Indo-Chinese nations, so far as the latter are not avowed translations therefrom into the vernacular tongues. But before I can subscribe to the opinion adverted to, I must see Pálí works produced, comparable in importance and number with the Sanskrit records of Buddhism that have been procured in Nepaul; and, in the mean while, it appears to me most extraordinary that the philosophers of *Ayodhya* and of *Magadha*, the acknowledged founders of *Buddhism*, should be presumed by us to have postponed Sanskrit to Pálí; whilst, on the other hand, I can easily conceive, that as the new opinions spread into the remote Dekkan, and thence to Ceylon, their propagators should have facilitated their operations by means of Pálí translations. In a word, I believe the Sanskrit books of Nepaul are the only original treatises on Buddhism yet discovered by us, or now extant; and I think I do not exaggerate the importance of those treatises when I say, that through them only shall we be enabled either to complete the history of Indian philosophy, or to elucidate the real nature of those religious doctrines which constitute the faith of the Indo-Chinese, Ceylonese, Tibetans, Mongolians; as well as of the bulk of the Chinese, of the Japanese, of the various nations usually called Tartars; and, lastly, of the Himálayan mountaineers of India."

B. H. Hodgson.

*To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

## No. XIII.

### A DISPUTATION RESPECTING CASTE BY A BUDDHIST,

*In the form of a Series of Propositions supposed to be put by a Saiva and refuted by the Disputant.*

(Printed from the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. iii.)

*To the Secretary of the Asiatic Society.*

SIR, *Nepaul Residency, July 11th*, 1829.

A few days since my learned old *Bauddha* friend brought me a little tract in Sanskrit, with such an evident air of pride and pleasure, that I immediately asked him what it contained. "Oh, my friend!" was his reply, "I have long been trying to procure for you this work, in the assurance that you must highly approve the wit and wisdom contained in it; and, after many applications to the owner, I have at length obtained the loan of it for three or four days. But I cannot let you have it, nor even a copy of it, such being the conditions on which I procured you a sight of it." These words of my old friend stimulated my curiosity, and with a few fair words I engaged the old gentleman to lend me and my *pandit* his aid in making a translation of it; a task which we accomplished within the limited period of my possession of the original, although my *pandit* (a Brahman of Benares) soon declined co-operation with us, full of indignation at the author and his work! Notwithstanding, however, the loss of the *pandit's* aid, I think I may venture to say that the translation gives a fair representation of the *matter* of the original, and is not altogether without some traces of its *manner*.

It consists of a shrewd and argumentative attack, by a *Bauddha*, upon the Brahmanical doctrine of caste: and what adds to its pungency is, that throughout, the truth of the Brahmanical writ-

ings is assumed, and that the author's proofs of the erroneousness of the doctrine of *caste* are all drawn from those writings. He possesses himself of the enemy's battery, and turns their own guns against them. To an English reader this circumstance gives a puerile character to a large portion of the Treatise, owing to the enormous absurdity of the data from which the author argues. His inferences, however, are almost always shrewdly drawn, and we must remember that not he but his antagonists must be answerable for the character of the data. To judge by the effect produced upon my Brahman *pandit*—a wise man in his generation, and accustomed for the last four years to the examination of *Bauddha* literature—by this little Treatise, it would seem that there is no method of assailing Brahmanism comparable to that of "judging it out of its own mouth:" and the resolution of the Committee of the Serampore College to make a thorough knowledge of Hindu learning the basis of the education of their destined young apostles of Christianity in India, would thence appear to be most wise and politic: but to return to my little Treatise.

We all know that the Brahmans scorn to consider the Sudras as of the same nature with themselves, in this respect resembling the bigoted Christians of the dark ages, who deemed in like manner of the Jews. The manner in which our author treats this part of his subject is, in my judgment, admirable, and altogether worthy of a European mind. Indeed it bears the closest resemblance to the style of argument used by Shakespeare; in covertly assailing the analogous European prejudice already adverted to. I need not point more particularly to the glorious passage in the Merchant of Venice: "Hath not a Jew eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, passions; fed with the same food, hurt by the same diseases?" &c. &c.

The *Bauddha* Treatise commences in the sober manner of a title page to a book; but immediately after the author has announced himself with due pomp, he rushes "*in medias res*," and to the end of his work maintains the animated style of *vivá voce* disputation. Who Ashu Ghosha, the author, was, *when* he flourished and *where*, I cannot ascertain. All that is known of him at Nepaul

is, that he was a *Maha pandit*, or great sage, and wrote, besides the little Treatise now translated, two larger *Bauddha* works of high repute, the names of which are mentioned in a note.*

I am, &c.

B. H. Hodgson.

---

I, Ashu Ghosha, first invoking Manja Ghosha, the *Guru* of the world, with all my soul and all my strength, proceed to compose the book called *Vajra Suchi*, in accordance with the *Shastras* (Hindu or Brahmanical *Sastras*.)

Allow then that your *Vedas* and *Smrittis*, and works involving both *Dharma* and *Artha*, are good and valid, and that discourses at variance with them are invalid, still what you say, that the Brahman is the highest of the four castes, cannot be proved from those books.

Tell me, first of all, what is Brahmanhood? Is it life, or parentage, or body, or wisdom, or the way (*áchár*,) or acts, *i. e.* morality (*Karam*,) or the *Vedas*?

If you say it is life (*jiva*,) such an assertion cannot be reconciled with the *Vedas*; for, it is written in the *Vedas*, that "the sun and the moon, Indra, and other deities, were at first quadrupeds; and some other deities were first animals and afterwards became gods; even the vilest of the vile (*Swapak*) have become gods." From these words it is clear that Brahmanhood is not life (*jiva*), a position which is further proved from these words of the *Mahabharata*: "Seven hunters and ten deer, of the hill of Kalinjal, a goose of the lake Mansaravara, and a *chakwa* of Saradwipa, all these were born as Brahmans, in the *Kurukshetra* (near Dehli), and became very learned in the *Vedas*." It is also said by Manu, in his *Dharma Sastra*, "Whatever Brahman learned in the four *Vedas*, with their *ang* and *upang*, shall take charity from a Sudra, shall for twelve births be an ass, and for sixty births a hog, and seventy births

* The *Buddha Charitra Kavya*, and the *Nandi-Mukhasughosha Avadan*, and other works.

a dog." From these words it is clear that Brahmanhood is not life; for, if it were, how could such things be?

If, again, you say that Brahmanhood depends on parentage or birth (*jàti*); that is, that to be a Brahman one must be born of Brahman parents,—this notion is at variance with the known passage of the *Smritti*, that Achala Muni was born of an elephant, and Cesa Pingala of an owl, and Agastya Muni from the *Agasti* flower, and Cousika Muni from the *Cusa* grass, and Capila from a monkey, and Gautami Rishi from a creeper that entwined a Saul tree, and Drona Acharya from an earthen pot, and Taittiri Rishi from a partridge, and Parswa Rama from dust, and Sringa Rishi from a deer, and Vyasa Muni from a fisherwoman, and Koshika Muni from a female Sudra, and Viswa Mitra from a *Chandalni*, and Vasishtha Muni from a strumpet. Not one of them had a Brahman mother, and yet all were notoriously called Brahmans; whence I infer, that the title is a distinction of popular origin, and cannot be traced to parentage from written authorities.

Should you again say, that whoever is born of a Brahman father *or* mother is a Brahman, then the child of a slave even may become a Brahman; a consequence to which I have no objection, but which will not consort with your notions, I fancy.

Do you say, that he who is sprang of Brahman parents is a Brahman? Still I object that, since you must mean pure and true Brahmans, in such case the breed of Brahmans must be at an end; since the fathers of the present race of Brahmans are not, any of them, free from the suspicion of having wives, who notoriously commit adultery with Sudras. Now, if the real father be a Sudra, the son cannot be a Brahman, notwithstanding the Brahmanhood of his mother. From all which I infer, that Brahmanhood is not truly derivable from birth; and I draw fresh proofs of this from the *Manava Dharma*, which affirms that the Brahman who eats flesh loses instantly his rank; and also, that by selling wax, or salt, or milk, he becomes a Sudra in three days; and further, that even such a Brahman as can fly like a bird, directly ceases to be a Brahman by meddling with the fleshpots.

From all this is it not clear that Brahmanhood is not the same with birth: since, if that were the case, it could not be lost by any acts however degrading. Knew you ever of a flying horse that by alighting on earth was turned into a pig?—'Tis impossible.

Say you that body (*Sarìr*) is the Brahman? this too is false; for, if body be the Brahman, then fire, when the Brahman's corpse is consumed by it, will be the murderer of a Brahman; and such also will be every one of the Brahman's relatives who consigned his body to the flames. Nor less will this other absurdity follow, that every one born of a Brahman, though his mother were a *Kshatriya* or *Vaisya*, would be a Brahman—being bone of the bone, and flesh of the flesh of his father: a monstrosity, you will allow, that was never heard of. Again, are not performing sacrifice, and causing others to perform it, reading and causing to read, receiving and giving charity, and other holy acts, sprung from the body of the Brahman?

Is then the virtue of all these destroyed by the destruction of the body of a Brahman? Surely not, according to your own principles; and, if not, then Brahmanhood cannot consist in body.

Say you that wisdom* constitutes the Brahman? This too is incorrect. Why? Because, if it were true, many Sudras must have become Brahmans from the great wisdom they acquired. I myself know many Sudras who are masters of the four *Vedas*, and of philology, and of the *Mimansa*, and *Sanc'hya*, and *Vaisheshika* and *Jyotishika* philosophies; yet not one of them is or ever was called a Brahman. It is clearly proved then, that Brahmanhood consists not in wisdom or learning. Then do you affirm that the *Achár* is Brahmanhood? This too is false; for if it were true, many Sudras would become Brahmans; since many *Nats* and *Bháts*, and *Kaivertas*, and *Bhánds*, and others, are every where to be seen performing the severest and most laborious acts

* Perhaps it should rather be translated *learning*. The word in the original is *jnyana*.

of piety. Yet not one of these, who are all so pre-eminent in their *Achár*, is ever called a Brahman: from which it is clear that *Achár* does not constitute the Brahman.

Say you that *Karam* makes the Brahman? I answer, no; for the argument used above applies here with even greater force, altogether annihilating the notion that acts constitute the Brahman. Do you declare that by reading the *Vedas* a man becomes a Brahman? This is palpably false; for it is notorious that the *Rakshasa* RAVAN was deeply versed in all the four *Vedas;* and that, indeed, all the *Rakshasas* studied the *Vedas* in RAVAN's time: yet you do not say that one of them thereby became a Brahman. It is therefore proved that no one becomes a Brahman by reading the *Vedas.*

What then is this creature called a Brahman? If neither reading the *Vedas*, nor *Sanskar*, nor parentage, nor race (*Kula*), nor acts (*Karam*), confers Brahmanhood, what does or can? To my mind Brahmanhood is merely an immaculate quality, like the snowy whiteness of the *Kundh* flower. That which removes sin is Brahmanhood. It consists of *Uráta*, and *Tapas*, and *Neyama*, and *Ripavas*, and *Dan*, and *Dáma*, and *Sháma*, and *Sanyama*. It is written in the *Vedas* that the gods hold that man to be a Brahman who is free from intemperance and egotism; and from *Sanga*, and *Parigraha*, and *Praga*, and *Dwesha*. Moreover, it is written in all the *Sastras* that the signs of a Brahman are these, truth, penance, the command of the organs of sense, and mercy; as those of a *Chándala* are the vices opposed to those virtues. Another mark of the Brahman is a scrupulous abstinence from sexual commerce, whether he be born a god, or a man, or a beast. Yet further, SUKRA ACHARYA has said, that the gods take no heed of caste, but deem him to be the Brahman who is a good man although he belong to the vilest. From all which I infer, that birth, and life, and body, and wisdom, and observance of religious rites (*achár*), and acts (*karam*), are all of no avail towards becoming a Brahman.

Then again, that opinion of your sect, that *Pravrajaya* is prohibited to the Sudra; and that for him service and obedience paid

to Brahmans are instead of *pravrajaya*,—*because*, forsooth, in speaking of the four castes, the Sudra is mentioned last, and is therefore the vilest,—is absurd; for, if it were correct, INDRA would be made out to be the lowest and meanest of beings, INDRA being mentioned in the *Parni Sutra* after the dog, thus—" *Shua, Yua Maghwa.*" In truth, the order in which they are mentioned or written, cannot affect the relative rank and dignity of the beings spoken of.

What! is PARVATI greater than MAHESA? or are the teeth superior in dignity to the lips, because we find the latter postponed to the former, for the mere sake of euphony, in some grammar sentence? Are the teeth older than the lips; or does your creed teach you to postpone SIVA to his spouse? No; nor any more is it true that the Sudra is vile, and the Brahman high and mighty, because we are used to repeat the *Chatur Varána* in a particular order. And if this proposition be untenable, your deduction from it; viz. that the vile Sudra must be content to regard his service and obedience to Brahmans as his only *pravrajaya*, falls likewise to the ground.

Know further, that it is written in the *Dharma Sastra* of MENU, that the Brahman who has drank the milk of a *Sudarni*, or has been even breathed upon by a *Sudarni*, or has been born of such a female, is not restored to his rank by *prayáschitta*. In the same work it is further asserted, that if any Brahman eat and drink from the hands of a *Sudarni*, he becomes in life a Sudra, and after death a dog. MANU further says, that a Brahman who associates with female Sudras, or keeps a Sudra concubine, shall be rejected by gods and ancestors, and after death shall go to hell. From all these assertions of the *Manavá Dharma*, it is clear that Brahmanhood is nothing indefeasibly attached to any race or breed, but is merely a quality of good men. Further, it is written in the *Sastra* of MANU, that many Sudras became Brahmans by force of their piety; for example, KATHINU MUNI, who was born of the sacrificial flame produced by the friction of wood, became a Brahman by dint of *Tapas;* and VASISHTHA MUNI, born of the courtezan URVASI; and VYASA MUNI, born of a female of

the fisherman's caste; and RISHIYA SRINGA MUNI, born of a doe; and VISHVA MITRA, born a *Chandalni;* and NARED MUNI, born of a female spirit-seller; all these became Brahmans by virtue of their *Tapas.* Is it not clear then that Brahmanhood depends not on birth? It is also notorious that he who has conquered himself is a *Yati;* that he who performs penance is a *Tapasya;* and that he who observes the *Brahma charya* is a Brahman. It is clear then that he whose life is pure, and his temper cheerful, is the true Brahman; and that lineage (*Kula*) has nothing to do with the matter. There are these *slokas* in the *Manava Dharma,* "Goodness of disposition and purity are the best of all things; lineage is not alone deserving of respect. If the race be royal and virtue be wanting to it, it is contemptible and useless." KATHINA MUNI and VYASA MUNI, and other sages, though born of Sudras, are famous among men as Brahmans; and many persons born in the lowest ranks have attained heaven by the practice of uniform good conduct (*sila.*) To say therefore that the Brahman is of one particular race is idle and false.

Your doctrine, that the Brahman was produced from the mouth, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaisya from the thighs, and the Sudra from the feet, cannot be supported. Brahmans are not of one particular race. Many persons have lived who belonged to the *Kaivarta Kul,* and the *Rajaka Kul,* and the *Chândal Kul,* and yet, while they existed in this world, performed the *Chura Karan,* and *Mung-bandan,* and *Dant-kashtha,* and other acts appropriated to Brahmans, and after their deaths became, and still are, famous under the Brahmans.

All that I have said about Brahmans you must know is equally applicable to Kshatriyas; and that the doctrine of the four castes is altogether false. All men are of one caste.

Wonderful! You affirm that all men proceeded from one, *i. e.* Brahma; how then can there be a fourfold insuperable diversity among them? If I have four sons by one wife, the four sons, having one father and mother, must be all essentially alike. Know too that distinctions of race among beings are broadly marked by differences of conformation and organization: thus, the

foot of the elephant is very different from that of the horse; that of the tiger unlike that of the deer; and so of the rest: and by that single diagnosis we learn that those animals belong to very different races. But I never heard that the foot of a Kshatriya was different from that of a Brahman, or that of a Sudra. All men are formed alike, and are clearly of one race. Further, the generative organs, the colour, the figure, the ordure, the urine, the odour, and utterance, of the ox, the buffalo, the horse, the elephant, the ass, the monkey, the goat, the sheep, &c. furnish clear diagnostics whereby to separate these various races of animals: but in all those respects the Brahman resembles the Kshatriya, and is therefore of the same race or species with him. I have instanced among quadrupeds the diversities which separate diverse genera. I now proceed to give some more instances from among birds. Thus, the goose, the dove, the parrot, the peacock, &c. are known to be different by their diversities of figure, and colour, and plumage, and beak: but the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra are alike without and within. How then can we say they are essentially distinct? Again, among trees the *Báta*, and *Bakula*, and *Palás*, and *Ashoka*, and *Tamal*, and *Nagkeswar*, and *Shirik*, and *Champa*, and others, are clearly contradistinguished by their stems, and leaves, and flowers, and fruits, and barks, and timber, and seeds, and juices, and odours; but Brahmans, and Kshatriyas, and the rest, are alike in flesh, and skin, and blood, and bones, and figure, and excrements, and mode of birth. It is surely then clear that they are of one species or race.

Again, tell me, is a Brahman's sense of pleasure and pain different from that of a Kshatriya? Does not the one sustain life in the same way, and find death from the same causes as the other? Do they differ in intellectual faculties, in their actions, or the objects of those actions; in the manner of their birth, or in their subjection to fear and hope? Not a whit. It is therefore clear that they are essentially the same. In the *Udambára* and *Panosa* trees the fruit is produced from the branches, the stem, the joints, and the roots. Is one fruit therefore different from

another, so that we may call that produced from the top of the stem the Brahman fruit, and that from the roots the Sudra fruit? Surely not. Nor can men be of four distinct races, because they sprang from four different parts of one body. You say that the Brahman was produced from the mouth; whence was the Brahmani produced? From the mouth likewise? Grant it—and then you must marry the brother to the sister! a pretty business indeed! if such incest is to have place in this world of ours, all distinctions of right and wrong must be obliterated.

This consequence, flowing inevitably from your doctrine that the Brahman proceeded from the mouth, proves the falsity of that doctrine. The distinctions between Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, are founded merely on the observance of divers rites, and the practice of different professions; as is clearly proved by the conversation of BAISHAM PAYANA RISHI with YUDHISTHIRA RAJA, which was as follows: One day the son of PANDU, named YUDHISTHIRA, who was the wise man of his age, joining his hands reverentially, asked BAISHAM PAYANA, Whom do you call a Brahman; and what are the signs of Brahmanhood? BAISHAM answered, The first sign of a Brahman is, that he possesses long-suffering and the rest of the virtues, and never is guilty of violence and wrong doing; that he never eats flesh; and never hurts a sentient thing. The second sign is, that he never takes that which belongs to another without the owner's consent, even though he find it in the road. The third sign, that he masters all worldly affections and desires, and is absolutely indifferent to earthly considerations. The fourth, that whether he is born a man, or a god, or a beast, he never yields to sexual desires. The fifth that he possesses the following five pure qualities, truth, mercy, command of the senses, universal benevolence, and penance.* Whoever possesses these five signs of Brahmanhood I acknowledge to be a Brahman; and, if he possess them not, he is a Su-

* The word in the original is *Tapas*, which we are accustomed to translate "penance," and I have followed the usage, though "ascetism" would be a better word. The proud *Tapasyi*, whom the very gods regard with dread, never dreams of contrition and repentance.

dra. Brahmanhood depends not on race (*Kuli,*) or birth (*Jat,*) nor on the performance of certain ceremonies. If a *Bhandál* is virtuous, and possesses the signs above noted, he is a Brahman. Oh! YUDHISTHIRA, formerly in this world of ours there was but one caste. The division into four castes originated with diversity of rites and of avocations. All men were born of woman in like manner. All are subject to the same physical necessities, and have the same organs and senses. But he whose conduct is uniformly good is a Brahman; and if it be otherwise he is a Sudra; aye, lower than a Sudra. The Sudra who, on the other hand, possesses these virtues is a Brahman.

Oh, YUDHISTHIRA! If a Sudra be superior to the allurements of the five senses, to give him charity is a virtue that will be rewarded in heaven. Heed not his caste; but only mark his qualities. Whoever in this life ever does well, and is ever ready to benefit others, spending his days and nights in good acts, such an one is a Brahman; and whoever, relinquishing worldly ways, employs himself solely in the acquisition of *Moksha,* such an one also is a Brahman; and whoever refrains from destruction of life, and from wordly affections, and evil acts, and is free from passion and backbiting, such an one also is a Brahman; and whoso possesses *Kshema,* and *Daya,* and *Dama,* and *Dán,* and *Satya,* and *Souchana,* and *Smritti,* and *Ghrina,* and *Vidya,* and *Vijnan,* &c. is a Brahman. Oh, YUDHISTHIRA! if a person perform the *Brahmacharya* for one night, the merit of it is greater than that of a thousand sacrifices (*yajna*). And whoso has read all the *Vedas,* and performed all the *Tirthas,* and observed all the commands and prohibitions of the *Sastra,* such an one is a Brahman! and whoso has never injured a sentient thing by act, word or thought, such a person shall instantly be absorbed (at his death) in BRAHMA. Such were the words of BAISHAM PAYANA. Oh, my friend, my design in the above discourse is, that all ignorant Brahmans and others should acquire wisdom by studying it, and take to the right way. Let them, if they approve it, heed it; and if they approve it not, let them neglect its admonitions.

## No. XIV.

### ON THE EXTREME RESEMBLANCE THAT PREVAILS BETWEEN MANY OF THE SYMBOLS OF BUDDHISM AND SAIVISM.

(Printed from the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, No. 14, A. D. 1827.)

*To the Editor of the Oriental Quarterly Magazine.*

SIR,

It is the purpose of the following paper to furnish to those who have means and inclination to follow them out, a few hints relative to the extreme resemblance that prevails between many of the symbols of Buddhism and Saivism. Having resided myself some few years in a Bauddha country, I have had ample opportunities of noting this resemblance, and a perusal of the works of CRAWFURD, of RAFFLES, and of the Bombay Literary Society, has satisfied me that this curious similitude is not peculiar to the land wherein I abide. I observe that my countrymen, to whom *any degree* of identity between faiths in general so opposite to each other as Saivism and Buddhism, never seems to have occurred, have in their examinations of the monuments of India and its Islands, proceeded upon the assumption of an absolute incommunity between the types of the two religions as well as between the things typified.* This assumption has puzzled them not a little so often as the evidence of their eyes has forced upon them, the observation of images in the closest juxta position which their previous ideas nevertheless obliged them to sunder as far apart as Brahmanism and Buddhism!

When in the country in which I reside, I observed images the most apparently Saiva placed in the precincts of Saugata temples,

* This remark is scarcely just, the possible connection of the *Saiva* and *Buddha* systems on *Java* and *Bali* having been frequently conjectured, and in India the intermixture of *Jain*, with *Vaishnva*, and even *Sakta* practices is not uncommon.—ED.

I was at first inclined to consider the circumstance as an incongruity arising out of an ignorant confusion of the two creeds by the people of this country: but upon multiplying my observations such a solution gave me no satisfaction: these images often occupied the very penetralia of Saugata temples; and in the sequel I obtained sufficient access to the conversation, and books of the Bauddhas to convince me that the cause of the difficulty lay deeper then I had supposed.* The best informed of the Bauddhas contemptuously rejected the notion of the images in question being Saiva, and in the books of their own faith they pointed out the Bauddha legends justifying and explaining their use of such, to me, doubtful symbols. Besides, my access to the European works of which I have already spoken exhibited to me the very same apparent anomaly existing in regions the most remote from one another, and from that wherein I dwell. Indeed, whencesoever Bauddha monuments, sculptural or architectural, had been drawn by European curiosity, the same dubious symbols were exhibited: nor could my curiosity be at all appeased by the assumption which I found employed to explain them. I shewed these monuments to a well informed old Bauddha, and asked him what he thought of them, particularly of the famous Tri-Múrti image of the Cave temple of the West. He recognised it as a genuine Bauddha image! As he did many—many others declared by our writers to be Saiva! Of these matters you may perchance hear hereafter, suffice it at present to say that I continued to interrogate my friend as to whether he had ever visited the plains of India, and had there found any remains of his faith. Yes, was the prompt reply, I made a pilgrimage to Gayah, in my youth: I then asked him if he remembered what he had seen and could tell me. He replied that he had, at the time, put a few remarks on paper which he had preserved, and would give me a copy of, if I desired it. I bid him do so, and was presented with a paper of which

* Causes are not at present my game: but consider the easy temper of superstition; the common origin of Buddhism and Brahmanism in India; the common tendency of both Saivaism and Buddhism to asceticism, &c. &c. even Christianity adopted many of the rites and emblems of classic paganism.

the enclosed is a translation. Let me add that never having visited Gayah, I cannot say any thing relative to the accuracy of my friend's details, and that in regard to the topographical ones, there are probably a few slight mistakes. I am aware that an accurate explanation from the Bauddha books of the drawings that accompany my paper, would be of more value than that paper. But, Sir, non omnia possumus omnes, and I hope that a Bauddha comment on Brahmanical ignorance will be found to possess some value, as a curiosity; and some utility, for the hints it furnishes relative to the topic adverted to in this letter.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

*Valley of Nepaul, Nov.* 1827. H.

P. S.—Captain DANGERFIELD's five images in the Cave at Bág, and which the Brahmans told him were the five Pándús, are doubtless the " Pancha Búddha Dhyáni ;" as is the Captain's "Charan," said to be that of Vishnú, the Charan of Sákya Sinha ; or that of Manj Ghók. If it be the latter, it has *an eye* engraved in the *centre of each foot.*

---

Búddh Gayah, according to a Nepaulese Bauddha who visited it.

In Búddh Gayah there is a temple* of Mahá Búddha in the interior of which is enshrined the image of Sákya Sinha : before the image is a Chaitya of stone, close to which are the images of three Lók Eshwaras, viz. Halá Halá Lók Eshwara,† &c. This temple

* The word in the original is Kutagar, and I understand that the temple of Maha Buddha in the city of Patan, in this valley, is built after the model of the Gayah temple. If so, the latter is of the same general form with the Orissan Jagannath. The Patan temple is divided in the interior, into five stories. Sakya Sinha, the genius loci, is enshrined in the centre of the first story ; Amitabha, the fourth Dhyani Buddha, occupies the second story ; a small stone Chaitya, the third ; the Dharma Dhatu mandal, the fourth ; and the Vajra Dhatu mandal, the fifth and highest story, and the whole structure is crowned on the outside, by a Chura Mani Chaitya.

† Hala Hala Lok Eshwara, a form of Padma Pani, the fourth Dhyani Bodhisatwa, and active creator and governor of the *present* system of nature. Three Dhyani

of Mahá Búddha, the Brahmans call the temple of Jagat Nátha, and the image of Sákya Sinha they denominate Mahá Múni;* of the three Lók Náths, one they call Mahá Déva, one Párvatí, and the third their son. On the south side of the temple of Mahá Búddha is a small stone temple in which are the images of the seven Búddhas,† and near to them on the left three other images, of Halá Halá Lók Eshwara, Maitreya Bodhisatwa, and Dípankara Búddha. The Brahmans call six of the seven Búddhas, the Pándús and their bride, but know not what to make of the seventh Búddha, or of the remaining three images.

Upon the wall of the small temple containing the Sapta Buddha, and immediately above their images, is an image of Vajra Satwa,‡ one head, two hands, in the right hand a Vajra, and in the left a bell, with the lock on the crown of the head, twisted into a turban: the Brahmans call this image of Vajra Satwa Mahâ Brahmá. At the distance of 15 yards, perhaps, east of the great temple of Mahá Búddha is another small temple in which is placed a circular slab having the print of the feet of Sákya Sinha

Dhyani Bodhisatwas preceded him in that office, and one remains to follow him.

* This name is equivocal: the Brahmans mean. I suppose, to designate by it the chief of their own Munis. The Bauddhas recognise it as just, since the Tri-Kand Sesh, and many of their scriptures give this name to Sakya Sinha.

† The Bauddha scriptures say that one form is common to all the seven great Manushi Buddhas. The figure I have given of Sakya has the Bhumi-sparsa Mudra, or right hand touching the earth. The Gayah image of him is said to have the Dhyan Mudra for the position of the hands. There is nothing improper in giving that Mudra to Sakya or other Manushi Buddhas, but *usually* it is appropriated to Amitabha; and almost all the images of Sakya that I have seen are characterised by the Bhumi-sparsa Mudra, Sakya's image is generally supported by lions, sometimes however by elephants. Sakya's appropriate *colour* is yellow or golden, which colour, like the other characteristics, belongs also to the remaining six great Manushis.

‡ Vajra Satwa is a Dhyani or celestial Buddha. There is a series of five celestial Buddhas, to whom are assigned the five elements of matter, the five powers of human sense, and the five respective objects of sensation. There is also a series of six Dhyani Buddhas, which is composed of the above five, with the addition of Vajra Satwa, and to him are ascribed intellectual force and the discrimination of good and evil.

graven on it. The feet are known to be those of Sákya, because the stone has the eight mangals, and the one thousand chakras upon it. The Brahmans of Gayah call this Charan, the Charan of Vishnú, but they are silent when the mangals and chakras are pointed out to them as decisive proofs of their error.

Somewhat further [perhaps 150 yards] from the great temple of Mahá Búddha towards the east, is a Kúnd called Páni Hata, and at the eastern corner of the well is the image of Maitreya Bódhisatwa.

The Kúnd is called Páni Hata because Sákya produced the spring of water by striking his hand on the ground there. That water has eight peculiar qualities. The Brahmans say that the Kúnd is Saraswatí's, and insist that Maitreya's image is the image of Saraswatí. At a little distance to the north of the great Mahá Búddha temple are many small Chaityas,* which the Brahmans call Siva Lingas, and as such worship them, having broken off the Chúrá Mani from each. Much astonished was I to find the great temple of *my* religion consecrated to Brahman worship, and Brahmans ignorantly falling down before the Gods of *my* fathers.

---

(Printed from the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, No. 16, A. D. 1828.)

*To the Editor of the Quarterly Oriental Magazine.*

SIR,

Some time ago I sent you a paper containing remarks upon the resemblance that prevails between the symbols of Buddhism and Sivaism. From a note which you appended to that paper on publishing it, I apprehend that the scope and object of my remarks were misunderstood; and, as whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing effectually, I shall (availing myself of Craw-

* The Chaitya is the only proper temple of Buddhism, though many other temples have been adopted by the Saugatas for inshrining their Dii Minores. In Nepaul, the Chaitya is exclusively appropriated to five Dhyani Buddhas, whose images are placed in niches around the base of the solid hemisphere which forms the most essential part of the Chaitya. Almost every Nepaul Chaitya has its hemisphere surmounted by a cone or pyramid called Chura Mani. The small and unadorned Chaitya might easily be taken for a Linga. It was so mistaken by Mr. CRAWFURD, &c.

furd's Archipelago, which has just now again fallen in my way) return briefly to the subject. The purpose of my former paper was to show that, very many symbols, the most apparently Saiva, are notwithstanding strictly and purely Bauddha; and that, therefore, in the examination of the antiquities of India and its islands, we need not vex ourselves, because on the sites of old Saugata temples we find the very genius loci arrayed with many of the apparent attributes of a Saiva God; far less, need we infer from the presence, on *such* sites, of seemingly Saiva images and types, the presence of actual Sivaism.

Crawfurd, standing in the midst of hundreds of images of Buddhas, on the platform of a temple, the general form and structure of which irresistibly demonstrated that it was consecrated to Sugatism, could yet allow certain *appearances* of Sivaism to conduct him to the conclusion, that the presiding Deity of the place was Hara himself! Nay, further, though he was persuaded that the ancient religion of the Javanese was Buddhism, yet having always found what he conceived to be unequivocal indices of the presidency of the Hindoo destroyer, in all the great Saugata temples, he came to the *general* conclusion, that "genuine Buddhism" is no other than Sivaism. Now, Sir, it was with an eye to these, and somewhat similar deductions of Crawfurd, Raffles, Erskine, &c. that I addressed my former paper to you; and I thought that when I had shown no reliance could be placed upon the inference from seemingly Saiva symbols to actual Sivaism, I had smoothed the way for the admission that those cave temples of the West of India, as well as those fine edifices at Java, whereat the majority of indications, both for number and weight, prove Buddhism, are *Bauddha* and *exclusively Bauddha;* notwithstanding the presence of symbols and images occupying the post of honour, which, strongly to the eye, but in fact, erroneously in these cases, seem to imply Sivaism, or at least a coalition of the two faiths. For such a coalition at any time and in any place, I have not seen one plausible argument adduced; and as for the one ordinarily derived from the existence of supposed Saiva images and emblems in and around Bauddha temples, it is both erroneous in fact, and insufficient were it true.

However probably *borrowed* from Sivaism, these images and symbols became genuinely Bauddha by their adoption into Buddhism—just as the statue of a Capitoline Jupiter became the very orthodox effigies of St. Paul, because the Romanists chose to adopt the Pagan idol in an orthodox sense. And were this explanation of the existence of *seeming* Sivaism in sites which were beyond doubt consecrated to Buddhism, far less satisfactory that it is, I would still say it is a thousand times more reasonable than the supposition of an identity or coalition* between two creeds, the speculative tenets of which are wide asunder as heaven and earth, and the followers of which are pretty well known to have been, so soon as Buddhism became important, furiously opposed to each other.

Upon the whole, therefore, I deem it certain, as well that the types of Sivaism and Buddhism are very frequently the same, *as that the things typified are, always more or less, and generally radically, different.*

Of the aptness of our writers to infer Sivaism from apparently Siva images and emblems, I shall adduce a few striking instances from Crawfurd's 2d vol. chap. 1, on the ancient religion of the Islanders; and to save time and avoid odium, I shall speak rather to his engravings, than to his text; and shall merely state matters, without arguing them.

Let me add, too, that Crawfurd's mistakes could not well have been avoided. He had no access to the dead or living oracles of Buddhism, and reasoning only from what he saw, reasonably inferred that images, the most apparently Saiva, were really what they seemed to be; and that Saiva images and emblems proved a Saiva place of worship.

In his chapter already alluded to, there are several engravings. No. 27 is said to be "a figure of Mahá Deva as a devotee." It is, in fact, Sinha-Nátha-Lokeswara. Plate 28 is called "a representation of Siva." It is, in fact, Lokeswara Bhagawán, or Padma Páni, in his character of creator and ruler of the *present* system of

* In regard to those cave temples of the Western Continent of India, called mixed Saiva and Bauddha, the best suggested solution is *successive possession*—but I believe them to have been wholly Buddhist.

2 A

nature. How Mr. Crawfurd could take it for Siva, I do not know, since in the forehead is placed a tiny image of Amitabha Buddha, whose son Padma Páni is feigned, by the Bauddha mythologists, to be. Again, the principal personage in plate 21 is said to be "Siva in his car." It is, in truth, Namuchi Mâra, (the Bauddha personification of the evil principle,) proceeding to interrupt the Dhyán of Sákya Sinha; and plate 22 gives a continuation of this exploit, exhibiting Sákya meditating, and the frustration of Namuchi's attempt by the opposition of force to force. The whole legend is to be found in the Sambhú púrána.

The same work contains likewise the elucidation of plate 24, of which Mr. C. could make nothing.

Of the remaining plates, and of the text of this chapter of Mr. C.'s on other subjects, very able work, it would be easy, but it would to me be wearisome, to furnish the true explanation from the books or oral communications of the Bauddhas of Nepaul, to the more learned of whom the subjects of the plates in Mr. C.'s book are perfectly familiar. One quotation from Mr. C.'s *text*, and I have done. At p. 209, vol. ii. he observes: "The fact most worthy of attention, in respect to the images of Buddha is, that they never appear *in* any of the great central temples as the primary objects of worship, but in the smaller surrounding ones, seeming themselves to represent votaries. They are not found as single images, but always in numbers together,* seeming, in a word, to represent, not Deities themselves, but sages worshipping Siva."

The whole secret of this marvel is, that the temples seen by Mr. C. were not genuine Chaityas, but either composite Chaityas, or structures still less exclusively appropriated to the Dii majores of Buddhism. The genuine Chaitya is a *solid* structure exclusively appropriated to the Dhyáni Buddhas, whose images are placed in niches round the base of its hemisphere. Mánúshi

* And why not? for Buddha is a mere title: and though there are but five Dhyani Buddhas, there are hundreds of Manushis, which latter are constantly placed about temples in vast numbers; always as objects, though not, when so placed, special ones, of worship.

Buddhas and Dhyáni and Mánúshi Bodhisatwas and *Lokeswaras*, with their Saktis, are placed *in* and *around* various *hollow* temples, less sacred than the Chaityas. These Bodhisatwas and Lokeswaras never have the peculiar hair of the Buddhas, but, instead thereof, long-braided locks like Siva; often also the sacred thread and other indications apt to be set down as proofs, "strong as holy writ," of their being Brahmanical Deities. Such indications, however, are delusive, and the instances of plates 27 and 28, shew how Mr. C. was misled by them.

By the way, Mr. C. is biassed by his theory to discover Sivaism, where it did not and could not exist, of which propensity we have an odd instance (unless it be an oversight or misprint) in p. 219: for no one needs be told that Hari is Vishnu, not Siva,* and I may add that in adopting as Dii minores, the Gods of the Hindoo Pantheon, the Bauddhas have not, by any means, entirely confined themselves to the Sectarian Deities of the Saivas.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

*September* 10, 1828. H.

P. S.—A *theistic* sect of Bauddhas having been announced, as discovered in Nepaul, it is presently inferred that this is a local peculiarity. Let us not be in too great haste: Mr. Crawfurd's book, (loco citato) affords a very fine engraving of an image of Akshobhya, the 1st Dhyáni, or Celestial Bauddha, see plate 29, and I have remarked generally, that our engravings of Bauddha architecture and sculpture, drawn from the Indian Cave temples, from Java, &c. conform in the minutest particulars, to the existing Saugata monuments of Nepaul—which monuments prove here, (as at Java,) the *Foreign* and *Indian origin of Buddhism*, animals, implements, vehicles, dresses, being alien to Nepaul, and proper to India.

* See also pp. 221-2, for a singular error into which apparently Mr. C's. pursuit of his theory could alone have led him. Flowers not offered by Hindoos to their Gods, and *therefore* Buddha was a sage merely, and not a God !!

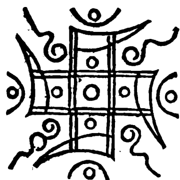
# No. XV.

(Not before printed)

## THE PRAVRAJYA VRATA OR INITIATORY RITES OF THE BUDDHISTS ACCORDING TO THE PUJA KAND.

If any one desires to become a Bandya (monastic or proper Buddhist) he must give notice thereof, not more than a month or less than four days, to his Gúrú, to whom he must present paun, and supàri, and datchina and achat, requesting the Gúrú to give him the Pravrajya Vrata. The Gúrú, if he assent, must accept the offerings and perform the Kalas puja which is as follows. The Gúrú takes a kalas or vessel full of water and puts into it a lotos made of gold or other precious metal, and five confections, and five flowers, and five trees (small branches), and five drugs, and five fragrant things, and five Birihi, and five Amrita, and five Ratna, and five threads of as many diverse colours. Above the vessel he places rice and then makes puja to it. He next seats the aspirant before the vessel in the Vajra asan fashion and draws on the ground before the aspirant four mandals or circular diagrams, three of which are devoted to the Tri Ratna and the fourth to the officiating Gúrú. Then the aspirant, repeats the following text, 'I salute Buddhanath, and Dharma, and Sangha, and entreat them to bestow the Pravrajya Vrata on me, wherefore I perform this rite to them and to my Gúrú, and present these offerings.' Reciting this text and holding five supàris in each hand, the aspirant, with joined hands, begs the Gúrú to make him a Bandya. The offerings above mentioned he gives to the Gúrú and datchina proportioned to his means. This ceremony is called Gwâl Dân. On the next day the ceremony above related is repeated with the undermentioned variations only. As in the Gwâl Dân the Kalas puja and Deva puja are performed, so here again: but the aspirant on the former occasion is seated in the Vajra asan manner, in this day's ceremony in the Sûstaka asan. The Sûstaka asan

is thus, first of all, kûs is spread on the ground, and above it, two unbaked bricks, and above them, the Sûstak is inscribed thus



upon which the aspirant is seated.

Then the aspirant is made Niranjana, that is, a light is kindled and shown to him, and some mantras repeated to him. Then the Vajra Raksha is performed, that is, upon the aspirant's head a Vajra is placed and the Gúrú reads some mantras. Next comes the ceremony of the Loha Raksha, that is, the Gúrú takes three iron padlocks, and places one on the belly and the two others on the shoulders of the neophyte, repeating some more mantras, the purport of which is an invocation of divine protection from ill, on the head of the aspirant. This rite is followed by the Agni Raksha, that is, the Gúrú puts a cup of wine (*sura-patra*) on the head of the Çhela and utters some prayers over him.

Next is performed the Kalás-Abhishéka, that is, holy water from the Kalas is sprinkled by the Gúrú on the Chêla's head and prayers repeated over him; after which, the Naikya Bandya or head of the Vihar comes and puts a silver ring on the finger of the aspirant. The Naikya or superior aforesaid, then takes four seers of rice and milk mixed with flowers, and sprinkles the whole at three times, on the aspirant's head, next the Naikya performs the Vajra Raksha, and then makes puja to the Gúrú Mandal before mentioned, which ceremony completed, he rings a bell, and then sprinkles rice on the aspirant and on the images of the Gods.

Then the aspirant, rising, pays his devotions to his Gúrú, and having presented a small present and a plate of rice to him, and having received his blessing, departs. This second day's ceremony is called Dùsala.

The third day's is denominated Pravrajya Vrata, and is as follows:—

Early in the morning the following things, viz. the image of a Chaitya, those of the Tri Ratna or Triad, the Prajna Paramita scripture, and other sacred scriptures, a kalas, or water pot filled with the articles before enumerated, a platter of curds, four other

water pots filled with water only, a Chivara and Newás, a Pinda patru and a Khikshari, a pair of wooden sandals, a small mixed metal plate spread over with pounded sandal wood in which the image of the moon is inscribed, a golden rasor and a silver one, and, lastly, a plate of dressed rice, are collected, and the aspirant is seated in the Sûstak Asan and made to perform worship to the Gúrú Mandala, and the Chaitya, and the Tri Ratna, and the Prajra Paramita Sastra. Then the aspirant, kneeling with one knee on the ground with joined hands, entreats the Gúrú to make him a Bandya, and to teach him whatsoever it is needful for him to know. The Gúrú answers, 'O! disciple! if you desire to perform the Pravrajya Vrata, first of all devote yourself to the worship of the Chaitya and of the Tri Ratna; you must observe the five precepts or Naucha Siksha, the fastings and the vows prescribed; you must kill no living thing; nor take another's property without the owner's leave; nor go near women, nor speak untruths, nor touch all intoxicating liquors and drugs; nor be proud of heart in consequence of your observance of your religious and moral duties?'

Then the aspirant pledges him thrice to observe the whole of the above precepts; upon which the Gúrú tells him, 'If while you live you will keep the above rules, then will I make you a Bandya.' He assents, when the Gúrú having again given the three Rakshas above mentioned to the Chela, delivers a cloth for the loins to him to put on. Then the Gúrú brings the aspirant out into the Court yard, and having seated him, touches his hair with rice and oil and gives those articles to a barber. The Gúrú next puts on the ground a little pulse and desires the Chela to apply it to his own feet. Then the Gúrú gives the Chela a cloth of four finger's breadth and one cubit in length, woven with threads of five colours, and which is especially manufactured for this purpose, to bind round his head. Then he causes the aspirant to perform his ablutions; after which he makes puja to the hands of the barber in the name of Viswakarma, and then causes the barber to shave all the hair, save the forelock, off the aspirant's head. Then the paternal or maternal aunt of the aspirant takes the vessel of mixed metal above noted and collects the hair into it. The

aspirant is now bathed again and his nails pared; when the above party puts the parings into the pot with the hair. Another ablution of the aspirant follows, after which the aspirant is taken again within, and seated. Then the Gúrú causes him to eat and also sprinkles upon him the Pancha Gabha, and says to him, 'Heretofore you have lived a householder; have you a real desire to abandon that state and assume the state of an ascetic?' The aspirant answers in the affirmative, when the Gúrú or Naikya, or maternal uncle, cuts off with his own hand, the aspirant's forelock. Then the Gúrú puts a tiara adorned with the images of the five Buddhas on his own head, and taking the kalas or water pot, sprinkles the aspirant with holy water, repeating prayers at the same time over him.

The neophyte is then again brought below, when four Naikyas or superiors of proximate Vihars and the aspirant's Gúrú perform the Pancha Abhisheka, i. e. the Gúrú takes water from the kalas and pours it into a conch; and then, ringing a bell and repeating prayers, sprinkles the water from the conch on the aspirant's head; whilst the four Naikyas, taking water from the other four water pots named above, severally baptize the aspirant. The musicians present then strike up, when the Naikyas and Gúrú invoke the following blessing on the neophyte. 'May you be happy as he who dwells in the hearts of all, who is the universal Atma, the lord of all, the Buddha called Ratna Sambhava.' The aspirant is next led by the Naikyas and Gúrú above stairs, and seated as before. He is then made to perform puja to the Gúrú Mandal and to sprinkle rice on the images of the Deities. The Gúrú next gives him the Chivara, and Navasa, and golden earrings, when the aspirant thrice says to the Gúrú, 'O Gúrú, I, who am such an one, have abandoned the state of a householder for this whole birth, and have become an ascetic.' Upon which the aspirant's former name is relinquished and a new one given him, such as Ananda Shali Putra, Kasyapa, Dharma Sri Mitra, Paramita Sagar. Then the Gúrú causes him to perform puja to the Tri Ratna, after having given him a golden tika, and repeated some prayers over him. The Gúrú then repeats the following praises of the Tri Ratna, 'I salute that Buddha who is the

lord of the three worlds, whom Gods and men alike worship, who is apart from the world, long-suffering, profound as the ocean, the quintessence of all good, the Dharma Raj and Munendra, the destroyer of desire and affection, and vice and darkness; who is void of avarice and lust, who is the ikon of wisdom. I ever invoke him, placing my head on his feet.'

'I salute that Dharma, who is the Prajna Paramita, pointing out the way of perfect tranquillity to all mortals, leading them into the paths of perfect wisdom; who, by the testimony of all the sages, produced or created all things; who is the mother of all the Bodhisatwas and Sravakas, I salute that Sangha, who is Padma Pani, and Maitreya, and Gagan Ganja, and Samanta Bhadra, and Vajra Pani, and Manju Ghosha, and Sarvani Varana Viskambhi, and Kshitti Garbha and Kha Garbha.' The aspirant then says to the Gúrú, 'I will devote my whole life to the Tri Ratna, nor ever desert them.' Then the Gúrú gives him the Das Siksha or ten precepts observed by all the Buddhas and Bhikshukas; and commands his observance of them. They are, 1. Thou shalt not destroy life; 2. Thou shalt not steal; 3. Thou shalt not follow strange faiths; 4. Thou shalt not lye; 5. Thou shalt not touch intoxicating liquors or drugs; 6. Thou shalt not be proud of heart; 7. Thou shalt avoid music, dancing and all such idle toys; 8. Thou shalt not dress in fine clothes, nor use perfumes or ornaments; 9. Thou shalt sit and sleep in lowly places; 10. Thou shalt not eat out of the prescribed hours.

The Gúrú then says, 'All these things the Buddhas avoided. You are now become a Bhikshu and must avoid them too;' which said, the Gúrú obliterates the Tri Ratna Mandala. Next, the aspirant asks from the Gúrú the Chivara and Nivasa, the Pinda Patra and Khikshari and Gandhar. The aspirant proceeds to make a Mandala and places in it five flowers and five Druba-Kund and some khil and some rice, and assuming the Utkútak Asan, and joining his hands, he repeats the praises of the Tri Ratna above cited, and then again requests his Gúrú to give him three suits of the Chivara and the like number of the Nivasa—one for occasions of ceremony as attending the palace, another for wearing at meals,

and the third for ordinary wear. He also requests from his Gúrú the like number of Gandhár or drinking cups, of Pinda Patra and of Khikshari. One entire suit of these the aspirant then assumes, receiving them from the hands of the Gúrú, who, previously to giving them, consecrate them, by prayers. The aspirant then says, 'Now I have received the Pravrajya Vratta, I will religiously observe the Sil-asgand, the Saládh-asgand, the Prajna-asgand, and the Vimokhti-asgand.'

Then the Gúrú gives him four sprinklings of holy water and presents him with an umbrella having 32 radii. Next he sprinkles him once again and gives him a pair of wooden sandals—after which the Gúrú draws on the ground linearly, and near to each other, seven images of the lotos flower, upon each of which he puts a supári, and then commands the aspirant to traverse them, placing a foot on each as he proceeds. When the Chela has done so, the Gúrú placing the Pancha Raksha Sastra on his head, sends him into the sanctum, where stands the image of Sakya Sinha, to offer to it pán, and supári, and datchina. All this the Chela does, and likewise performs the Pancha Upachárya puja; when, having circumambulated the image, he returns to the Gúrú.

Then the Gúrú performs the ceremony called Shik Adhivásan, which is thus: The ball of five-coloured thread mentioned in the first day's proceedings as being deposited in the kalas, is taken out of the kalas and one end of it twisted thrice round the neck of the kalas; it is then unrolled and carried on to the Chela and twined in like manner round the Khikshari he holds in his hands, whence it is continued unbroken to the Gúrú and delivered into his hands. The Gúrú holding the clue in his hands, repeats prayers and then rolls up the thread and redeposits it in the kalas. He next performs the Pancha Upachárya puja to the kalas and the Khikshari; next he gives flowers and a blessing to the aspirant; next he gives him the Abhishéka, invests his neck with a cord composed of a piece of the thread just adverted to; places the Pancha Raksha Sastra on his head, and repeats over him some prayers. The Mandal is then obliterated, when the aspirant is made to perform the Maha Bali ceremony which is thus:—

In a large earthen vessel four seers of dressed rice, and a quarter of the quantity of Bhatmas and a nose mask faced like Bhairava, having a small quantity of flesh in the mouth of it, are placed; and the aspirant makes puja to Bhairava, presenting to the mask the naivéd and a light, and pouring out water from a conch he holds in his hands so that it shall fall into the vessel. The Gúrú repeats mantras, and invoking the Devatas and Nágas, and Yakshas, and Rákshasas, and Gandharvas, and Múharajs, and Mortals, and Amanushas, and Prétas, and Pisáchas, and Dákas, and Dákinis, and Mátrika Grahas, and Apas Marga, and all motionless and moving things, he says, 'Accept this Bali and be propitious to this aspirant, since the sacrifice has been performed according to the directions of *Vajra Sata*.' Such is the Sarva Bhuta Bali: and in like manner the Balis of Maha Kála, and of the Graha, and of the Pancha Raksha, and of the Graha Mátrika, and of Chand Maha Rakshana, and of the guardians of the four quarters, and of Ekvingsati, and of Basundhara, and of the Chaitya, and of Pindi Karma, and of Amóghpása, and of Sarak Dhára, and of Tárá, and of Hevajra, and of Kúrkúlla, and of Vajra Krodha, and of Márichi, and of Ushnisha, and of Háríti, are performed; and then those denominated the Tshága Bali, and the Sankha Bali, which are thus: In the conch are put flesh, and blood and spirits which are poured, as before, into the great vessel, whilst the Deities of all the six quarters are invoked with prayers. Then the Pancha Upachara puja is made in the vessel, after which the aspirant is commanded to perform the Chakra púja, which completed, he returns to his seat. The Chakra púja is that which is made to all the images in the Vihar by going round to them all. The Gúrú then causes the aspirant to perform the Gúrú Mandal puja and afterwards to sprinkle rice on all the images, which done, the aspirant gives Datchina to the Gúrú, and the Gúrú, in return, gives the aspirant a small quantity of rice and a trifle of money. Then the Gúrú causes him to perform the Dés-Bali-Yátra, which is, the aspirant removes the great earthen vessel with its contents, by means of carriers, and distributes the contents in small quantities to all the shrines of Daityas, and Pisachas, and

other evil spirits throughout the city; and having distributed them, returns with the empty vessel.

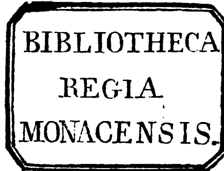
Then the Gúrú and ten Naikyas take the aspirant to make the circuit of all the shrines in the neighbourhood, and to present at each, offerings of rice, and pán, and supári, and flowers; after which they go to the Chela's home, when his relatives come out and give him four seers of rice, and then conduct the aspirant and the rest within and feed them with khìl. The Gúrú then returns to the Vihár, and the Chela remains at home. Then the aspirant must, at all events, practise mendicity and the other rules of his order, for four days; but if at the end of that time, he becomes tired of the ascetical profession he must go to his Gúrú at the Vihàr and to his Upadhayaya, (the latter is his instructor in the forms of puja, according to the Púja Kand) and addressing the Gúrú, must say, 'O Gúrú! I cannot remain an ascetic, pray take back the Chívara and other ensigns of it; and having delivered me from the Srávaka Charya, teach me Maha Yan Charya.' The Gúrú replies, 'Truly, in these degenerate days to keep the Pravrajya Vrat is hard, adopt then the Maha Yan Charya. But if you abandon the Pravrajya, still you cannot be relieved from observing the following commandments:—Not to destroy life. Not to steal. Not to commit adultery. Not to speak falsehoods. Not to take spirituous liquors and drugs. To be clement to all living beings. The observance of the above rules shall be a pravrajya to you, and if you obey them, you shall attain to Múkti.' The aspirant then washes the Gúrú's feet, and having done so, returns to his seat, when the Gúrú having prepared the materials of puja noted in the first day's ceremonies, makes púja to the kalas, after which he makes puja to the vessel, holding the aspirant's shorn locks. He then draws Mandals for the Tri Ratna and for himself, and makes the aspirant offer puja to all four; when he obliterates the whole and says, 'You have abandoned the Bhiksha Charya and adopted the Máha Yan Charya; attend to the obligations of the latter, as just explained to you.'

The badges of mendicity are then taken from the aspirant by the Gúrú who gives him the Pancha Raksha as before related,

and then sends him to make the Chakra puja, which done, he causes him to perform the Gúrú Mandal puja, and then to sprinkle rice on the Deities. Then the Gúrú Mandal is erased, the aspirant makes an offering to the Gúrú, and the Gúrú gives him his blessing. The Gúrú then sends the aspirant to throw into the river the hair shaven from his head and on his return makes the Agam puja and Kumari puja; when the whole is concluded by a feast.

P. S. Since the above papers were written, I have perused Mr. Turnour's essays in the Bengal Asiatic Journal, and I fully admit (as anticipated by Mr. Prinsep) that the honours of Ceylonese literature and of the Pali language are no longer disputable. I may add in regard to the latter point, that recent research has established the following very curious fact, viz. that the Sanscrit Buddhist works discovered by me in Nepaul, are now found to be copiously interspersed with passages in various Pracrits—Pali among the rest—pretty much in the manner of the Hindoo Drama wherein this mixture of less finished dialects with the Sanscrit is of common occurrence.

B. H. H.




THE END.



